



The names of the Commenters.

*Beatus Rhenanus.*  
*Albertus Ruberius.*  
*Aldus Manutius.*  
*Fulvius Ursinus.*  
*Iustus Lipsius.*  
*Raphelengius.*  
*Jacobus Schegkius.*  
*Valentinus Acidelins.*  
*Ianus Gruterus.*



*Velleius Paterculus*  
HIS  
**ROMANE**  
**HISTORIE:**

IN TWO BOOKES.

Exactly translated out of  
the Latine Edition super-  
vised by *Ianus Gruterus.*

According to the reformations in  
such parts of him, in which the Latin  
hath suffered either by time, or negli-  
gence in the transcribers of the ablest  
Commenters upon him.

And rendred English  
BY

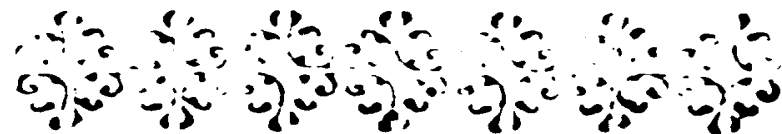
ST. ROBERT LE GRYS K<sup>nt</sup>.

L O N D O N,  
Printed by *M. F.* for R. SWAINE,  
in Brittaines-Burse at the signe of the  
Bible. *MDCXXXII.*

**R**ecenſui hunc librum, cui Ti-  
 tulus eſt, [*VELLEIVS*  
*PATERCVLVVS* his Roman  
*History, exactly tranſlated out of*  
*the Latine, and rendered English:*  
*&c.*] unâ cum Epistolâ nuncupa-  
 toria ad Honoratiſſimum virum,  
 Dñum *Thomam Iermyn*, et Præfa-  
 tione ad Lectorem: qui quidem  
 liber continet folia nonaginta &  
 ſeptem, in quibus omnibus nihil  
 reperio quod non cum publica u-  
 tilitate *Imprimatur*, modo intra  
 ſeptem menſes proxime ſequen-  
 tes *typis* mandetur.

*Edidit Londinenſibus,*  
*May 8. 1632.*

*Guilielmus Dray*  
*Episcopo Londinenſi*  
*Capellanus Domesticus.*



TO THE RIGHT  
 Honourable S<sup>r</sup> THOMAS  
 IERMYN Knight, Vice-  
 Chamberlaine of his Ma-  
 jesties houſhold, Governor  
 of the Ile of Jersey, and one of  
 his Majesties most Hono-  
 rable Privie Councell.

SIR,



When I had fi-  
 nished the last  
 (and the same  
 the first) work  
 of this kinde, that I ever  
 tooke in hand, I did not  
 A 3 beleve

## *The Epistle*

beleeeve there had beene  
any power, besides that  
transcendent authoritie,  
which imposed that task  
upō me, of force to make  
me a second time expose  
my selfe to the view of  
the world, and under-lye  
the censure of this Criti-  
call age: For I did not ap-  
prehend that your selfe,  
who as wel by the rights  
of nature, as also (but in-  
finitely beyond them) by  
your so many merits, may  
with justice claime in me  
what

## *Dedicatory.*

what interest you please,  
would ever have requi-  
red at my hāds, any thing  
of that nature, which  
your owne abilities stan-  
ding in no need of, can-  
not in your particular be  
usefull to you. But you  
were pleased, which wth  
mee shall ever have the  
force of a law, to cōmand  
it: In obedience where-  
unto I here present you  
with your grave and sen-  
tentious *Velleius Patercu-  
lus*, drest after my fashion  
A 4 in

## *The Epistle*

in English robes. The benefit that such, as making their acquaintance with him, now that after so many ages he is taught to speak our Ilanders language, they shall reape by the familiarity with him, w<sup>ch</sup> before they wanted; they must (if friends to equity) wholly and freely acknowledge themselves to have received from you. Since without your injunction, I had never adventured upon a piece

of

## *Dedictory.*

of such difficulty, as I, now it is done, do make a question, whether my desire to observe you in all, did not more enable mee to goe through with it, then any faculty of mine owne: nor, when I had brought it to an end, had suffered it to be published: but that I would not permit you to want the honour of a good work, wherof you were the immediate author, I dare with confidence give

## The Epistle

it that Epithete, for that among so many histories as I have read, I have met with none (and in this I beleeve every judicious Reader will be of my opinion) that doth in so few, and yet those so elegant words, involve so much strength of wit and understanding. By that which remaines of him so full of excellencie, I am taught to deplore the losse, which all lovers of knowledge do suffer in the  
the

## Dedicatory.

the mutilation of so daintie a piece in many places: but especially by that vast *Hiatus* in the first booke, in which all the glorious actions of the Romans from the foundation of the city till the ruine of the *Macedonian* kingdome by *Emilius*, during the space of five hundred yeares, or more, are swallowed up: what is now extant of him, though much short of his native beautie, and the lustre of  
his

## *The Epist. Dedicatory.*

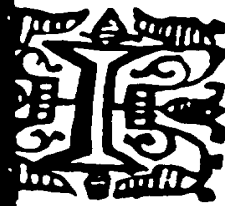
his originall language: I  
humbly desire you will  
accept as an eternall testi-  
mony of the respect and  
devotion of him, who is  
only sory that he hath nei-  
ther occasion nor meanes  
in sort more suteable to  
your worth, to expresse  
how much he is

Your faithfull,  
and perpetually  
vowed servant

RO. LE GRYS.



To the understanding  
Reader.



Heere once againe  
(if the prefixed  
Epithets do proper-  
ly belong to thee do  
th the ingenuity of a hear-  
friend salute thee. If thou  
art not such, follow my counsel,  
and lose no more time upon  
Julleius Paterculus, then will  
I give for reading the title: for  
believe mee, if as the French  
say is, thou hast not thy (En-  
dement bien ferre) thou  
wilt.

## To the Reader.

wilt profit but little by him. If the prefixed title be duely thine, let me entreate thee not to censure mee upon the first view of the originall, before thou have perused the observations of Lipsius, Manutius, Schegkius, Acidelius, Rhenanus, and those others who have commented upon him, and if thou there findest that I have beene guided by their opinions in the understanding the meaning of my author who was in so many parts mistaken, in so many mistaken: the worst thou canst say, is, that I have erred, I have erred with my learned company: if thou findest in the sixty eight chapter of the second book, that I have passed over

the

## To the Reader.

these words (Neque enim persona umbram actæ rei capit) make I pray thee sense of it thy selfe if thou canst, and that is more then I am able to doe with the helpe of Lipsius; if thou observest that in some places I ingeminate a word of the same sense with the author that is not found in the Latine, know that as I once said in my translation of Argenis, I never was a Grammar Schoole boy, and therefore thought not my selfe obliged to a literall and grammaticall construction. And that as I do not allow either to my selfe, or any other translator the liberty of a paraphraster, so I thinke it not onely lawfull, but.

## To the Reader.

but also necessary for him, retaining the sense of the author to fit it the best hee can possibly to the Idrome of the language in which hee is to render it. To conclude, that I may not make my port bigger then my towne, now thou hast it, if thou be pleased I am cōtēted; if not, I shall not like a mercenary playwright stand, with a panting heart behinde the curtaine harkening how loud the plaudits rattles. For I am not like a horse ignorant of my owne strength, but know that where one of those that may disapprove of it, can mend it, there would be ten that would be puzzeled with it. So judge as thou findest reason and

Farewell.

## *Velleius Paterculus* His ROMANE HISTORIE.

### LIB. I.

#### CHAP. I.

*The founding of diuers Cities, by the returners from Troy, with the murder of Agamemnon revenged by his sonne Orestes.*

\*\*\*\*\* being by tempest separated from his Commander Nestor, he founded Metapont. Teucer not admitted to the presence of his father Telamon, for his negligence or lazines, shewen in not revenging his brothers injurie, falling with Cyprus, did build, and by the name of his Countrie styled it, *Salamina*. Peris the sonne of Achilles possesse himselfe of *Epyrus*: *Philippus* of *Ephyra*

Ephyra in Thesprotia. But the king of kings *Agamemnon* being drivē by foule weather into the Ile of Crete, did there build three Cities: two of which hee called by his owne Countre names; the third, to keep his victorie in memorie, *Miscena*, *Tegae*, and *Pergamus*; And not long after falling under the trechery of his Wives sonne *Ægistus* (who bare him an hereditarie hate) and the villanie of his wife, was slaine: *Ægistus* held the kingdom seven yeares. Him *Orestes*, together with his mother, having his sister *Electra* a Woman of a masculine spirit the partner of all his designs, did put to the sword: That this his fact was by the gods approved, did appeare both by his long life and the happinesse of his state; for he lived nintie yeares

raigned

raigned seventie. He also by his bravery did quit himselfe of *Pyrrhus* the sonne of *Achilles*, whom for that he had seised upon the marriage of *Hermione* the daughter of *Menelaus*, and *Helene* who was contracted to him, he slew at *Delphos*. In these times when *Lydus* and *Tirrhennus* brethren raigned in *Lydia*, being straightned with famine, they cast lotts whether of them should with part of the multitude quitte the land. The lott fell upon *Tirrhennus*; he being come into *Italie* did both to the place, to the Inhabitants, and to the Sea give a Noble and perpetuall name derived from his owne. After the death of *Orestes*, his sons, *Penthelus* and *Tisamenus* raigned three yeares.

C H A P.

## CHAP. 2.

*The race of Pelops dispossessed of Peloponnesus by the Heraclidae. The glorious death of Codrus the Athenian King.*

**T**HEN about the eightieth year after the taking of Troy and the hundreth and twentieth from *Hercules* his being received among the gods, the offspring of *Pelops* (who all this time having expelled the descendants of *Hercules*, had held the dominion of *Peloponnesus*) by those of *Hercules* his race were deprived of it. The Commanders in this recoverie of their estate, were *Temistocles*, *Ctesiphon*, and *Prostodemas*, to whom he was the great great Grādfather. Almost in the same time

ceased

ceased to be any longer governed by Kings: the last of whom was *Codrus* the sonne of *Melanippus*, a man not slightly to be passed over. For when the *Lacedaemonians* did with a sharpe warre presse upon Attica, and the Pythian god had by his Oracle let the know [that the Army whose Generall should happen to be slain by the Enemy, should be the conqueror] he devesting himselfe of his royall acoutrements and cloathed like a peasant, put himself into the Enemies campe; where, as if by accident, raising a contention, hee was by those which knew him not flaine. *Codrus* with his death was followed by an eternall glorie, the Athenians with the ensuing victories. Who would not admire in that with such cunning did he ke his death as Cowards use to

to practise for the saving of their lives. His sonne *Medon* was the first Governor of Athens (which office they stiled *Archon*.) His posteritie were by the Attiques called *Medontidæ*, but they and their Successors till *Charpe*, did still hold that honour in their hands. The Peloponnesians also quitting the Countrey of Attica, did build Megara in the middle way between Corinth and Athens. About the time the navie of Tyre which then was most powerfull at Sea did upon the uttermost point of Spaine in the farthest end of the world possesse themselves of an Island divided from the Continent with a very narrow inlet to the Sea and therein built the Towne of Gades. And within a few yeares by the same men was *Utica* in Africa founded, the De-

scendents

scendents from *Orestes* being by those of *Hercules* thrust out, and vexed long atwell with various misfortunes, as with foule weather at Sea, at the end of fifteene yeares did seate themselves upon the Ile of Lesbos.

## CHAP. 3.

*Combustions in Greece: planting in Thessaly, and the founding of Corinth by Haletes.*

**T**HEN was all Greece shaken with most bitter Contentions. The Achaians being driven out of *Laconia* did possesse themselves of the lād they now hold. The *Pelasgi* marched up to Athens and a brave young souldier by name *Thessalus*, by his nation Thesprotian, with a great army of his Countrymen did seaze upon

upon the Countrey, which to this day from him is named *Theſſalia*: the Citie before that time being called of the Mirmidons. Concerning which name we may with reason wonder at thoſe who writing of the times of the Trojan warre doe mention that Countrey by the title of *Theſſaly*: which as others doe fault in, the Tragedians doe moſt commonly. To whom that libertie is not to be granted; for that the Poets have not ſpoken any thing in their owne perſon, but all under their names that lived in thoſe times. And if any of them will maintain that they were named Theſſalians from *Theſſalis* the ſonne of *Hercules*; it were fit he ſhould ſhew ſome reaſon why before the time of this later *Theſſalis* they never were ſo ſtyled. A little before this

this *Hales* the ſixth from *Hercules* and ſonne of *Hippotes*, founded Corinth, which before was called *Ephyræ* in the Iſthmus, making it the enclosure of *Pelopon-neſus*; Nor is there any cauſe why we ſhould wonder that *Homer* doth mention Corinth, for in the perſon of a Poet, hee both doth name this Citie, and certaine other Colonies of the Ionians, as in his dayes long after the taking of Troy they were called.

CHAP.

B

## CHAP. 4.

*Chalcide in Eubœa founded by the Athenians, and Cumæ in Italy with Naples some while after, & Magnesia in Asia by the Spartans, with many other Colonies of Greeks, both in the Continent and in the Islands.*

**T**HE Athenians in Eubœa Chalcida dispossess the Inhabitants of the Colony of Erethria; the Lacedemonians in Asia seised upon that of Magnesia. Not long after the Chalcidians being as is before related, descended from the Attickes did under the conduct of *Hipocles* and *Megasthenes* their leaders found the cittie of Cumæ in Italy. The course of that their way was directed as some re-  
port

port, by a dove flying before them as others by a tinkling sound of braſen pannes, such as in the night-sacrifices of *Ceres*, is usually heard. A part of these men did a long time after build Naples. Both these Cities their excellent and perpetuall faithfullnes to the Romans, doth render much worthy of the repute they hold, and the delicacie of their situation. But some others have with more diligent care preserved their Countie Ceremonies: the neighbourhood of *Osca*, wrought a change in those of Cumæ. What power those Cities have beene of in times long since past, the extent and strength of their walles doth even at this day demonstrate. In the age following a great multitude of Grecian youth whose mightie power  
B 2                      embolde-

emboldened them to seeke where they might settle, powred themselves upon Asia; for both the Ionians under the leading of Iones going from Athens, planted themselves upon a most noble part of the Sea coast which to this day is called Ionia, and built there these Cities, Ephesus, Miletum, Colophone, Priene, Lebedua, Myſta, Erythra Clazomenæ and Phocæa: & also possessed many Ilands in the Ægean and Icarian seas, as Samos, Chios, Andrus, Tenus, Pharos, Delus, besides others of lesse account. And presently the Eolians setting saile from the same Greece, after they had bin vexed with extreame long wandring, did fasten upon places of no meane account, and built famous Cities, Smyrna, Cymen, Larissa, Myrina, and Mitylene, with other

ther Cities, which are in the Isle of Lesbos.

## CHAP. 5.

*The time of Homers flourishing.*

**T**Hen also in his full brightness, shined the most noble, and without comparison, the matchlesse wit of *Homer*; who both for the greatnesse of his works, & the cleannes of his verses, did alone deserve to be called a Poet. In whom this is most glorious, that neither was there before him any one for him to imitate, nor after him any found that could imitate him. Nor shal we finde any other besides *Homer* and *Archilochus*, who was the first Author of his owne worke, that did therein reach to an absolute perfection. He was

B 3

longer

longer after the Trojan warre, of which he wrote, than some suppose: for hee flourished almost nine hundred and fiftie yeares since, was borne within these thousand yeares, for which cause it is not to bee wondred at that hee often useth that \*\*\*, for by this is discerned the difference of times, as well as of men, whom if any man doe believe to bee borne blinde, hee is himselfe deprived of all his senses.

## C H A P.

## C H A P. 6.

*The Assyrian Empire of 1700. yeares standing from Sardanapalus translated to the Medes by Pharnaces, in the time of Lycurgus the law maker of Sparta.*

**I**N the succeeding times the Empire of Asia was from the Assyrians, who had held the same for the space of seventene hundred yeares, translated to the Medes about seven hundred and seventy yeares after these things last related: for *Pharnaces* the Mede, deprived *Sardanapalus* their King, melted with ease full delicacies. and to his owne misfortune over-happie (who was the three and thirtieth in descent from *Ninus* and *Semiramis* the founders of Babylon, so as still the sonne had succeeded to the

B 4 father)

father) both of his Empire and life. In that age the most illustrious of the Greekes, *Lycurgus* the Lacedemonian descended from the Kings, was the Author of most strict, and withall of the justest Lawes; of which so long as Sparta was a diligent observer, it did flourish with all felicitie. About this time, and sixtie five yeares before the building of Rome, was Carthage founded by *Eliza* the Tyrian Lady, whom some have also called *Dido*. Neere to the same time *Caranus*, a mā royally borne, and the sixteenth in descent from *Hercules*, invested himselfe in the Kingdome of Macedonia, from whom *Alexander* the great, being the seventeenth of his race, and in his mothers right extracted from *Achilles*, made it one of his glories

glories that hee was also by his father derived from *Hercules*. *Amilius Sura*, in his Annalls of the people of Rome, sheweth that first the Assyrians being Lords of all nations, held the Empire of the world; then the Medes; after them the Persians, from whom the Macedonians got it, and last of all, not long after Carthage was mastered, *Philip* and *Intiochus*, two kings extracted from the Macedons, being overthrowne and conquered, the supream command did devolve to the Romans.

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CHAP. I

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## CHAP. 7.

Hesiodus 120 yeares after Homer. *A controversie cleared about the time of the building of Capua.*

**B**Etweene these times, and that of *Ninus*, who was the first great Monarch, did passe nineteene hundred ninetie and five yeares. *Hesiodus* was of this age, and about one hundred and twentie yeares after *Homer*. A man both for the cleerenesse of his wit, and daintie smoothnesse of his verse, worthie of memorie, infinitely desirous of rest and quiet. And as hee was in time, so also was he in esteeme the next to a man of so high repute as *Homer* was: who avoyded falling upon that error which *Homer* had lighted upon, and

and avowded both his country and parents: but his countrey, because hee had beene evill used by it, most scornefully. While I am employed about forraigne matters, I have lighted upon a Domestique busines, & that very erroneous and farre from agreeing with the opinions of the most approved Authors. For some there are that affirme that about these times *Capua* and *Nola* were founded by the *Tuscans*, almost eight hundred and thirty yeares since. To whose opinion I should indeed subscribe: but how farre doth *Marcus Cato* differ from them? who affirmeth that *Capua* was founded by the *Tuscans* and after that *Nola*. That *Capua* stood entire about two hundred and thirtie yeares before it was taken by the *Romans*: which

which if it bee so it being since the taking of Capua two hundred and fortie yeares : since it was founded, must bee onely about five hundred yeares. My selfe, (with pardon of *Caesars* diligence) would say that I can hardly beleieve that so great a Citie did grow to that height, flourish, was ruined and raised againe, and all in so short a space of time.

## CHAP. 8.

*The instituting the Olympick games by Iphitus the Elean, 924. yeares before the Consulship of Vinicius. In the first Olympade Rome founded by Romulus.*

**A**fter this the noblest tryall of mastery in sports, and the most effectuell for the exercising

cising the faculties of the minde and the body, the Olympicke games were begun : having for their Author *Iphitus* the Elean. Hee is reported to have first instituted those games, and a fayre with them, nine hundred and foure yeares before thou *Marcus Vinicius* didst enter upon thy Consulship ; Almost one thousand two hundred & fittie yeres before that, when *Atræus* did celebrate the funeralls of his father *Pelops*, *Hercules* at the trialls of exercises which were there presented, was in every one of them the Conquerour. At that time the Archôtes of Athens did cease to hold their places perpetually, of which the last was *Alcmaon*, and began to bee created every tenth yeare : which order did last about seventie yeares, and then the affaires of the

the common wealth were committed to Magistrates chosen every yeare. Of those which were created every tenth yeare, the first was *Charops*, the last *Eryx*. Of the yearely Officers, the first was called *Creon*. In the sixth *Olympiad*, two and twentie yeares after the first that was instituted. *Romulus* the sonne of *Mars* having taken revenge of the wrongs done to his Grandfather, did found the Citie of Rome upon mount Palatine. in the dayes of the feast, held in honour of the Goddesse *Palles*: from whence to the times of your Consulships, it is seven hundred seventy and two yeares. *Romulus* effected this, being aided by the Legions of his Grandfather *Latinus* (for I very willingly doe subscribe to the opinion of those which have in that

that fort delivered) whereas otherwise with an unwarlike company of Shepherds, hee would scarce have beene able to settle his new Citie, the *Veians* being so neare, and other *Etruscans* and *Sabines*; although hee had now enlarged it with a Sanctuary betweene the two Groves: He held about him an hundred elected & called fathers instead of a Councell, and this was the originall of the name of Patricians. The rape of the Sabine virgins, which \*\*\*\*\*

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C H A P.

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## CHAP. 9.

*The ruine of Perseus King of Macedon, by Paulus Emilius. His triumph and those of Octavius victorious by sea, and Amicius over Gentius the Illyrian King.*

Here is a vast breach in the History.

**H**EE reached what the Enemies most feared : for by the space of two yeares, he had fought with the Consuls, with so variable fortune, as for the most part he had the better of them, and had drawne a great part of Greece to allye themselves with him. Nay, even the Rhodians also, who were before that, most faithfull to the Romans, expecting the event, did they

then seeme, with a faithfulness to be doubted, more inclinable to the Kings part. And King *Eumenes* stood in that warre as a newtrall, neither answering his brothers beginnings, nor the fashion which himselfe had formerly carried. The Senate then, and the people of Rome, did create *Lucius Emilius Paulus* Consull, who had before triumphed both as Prætor and Consull. A man to be praysed as farre as virtue can bee understood and valued ; the sonne of that *Paulus*, who at Canna did as unwillingly fight that battaile, so ruinous to the Common wealthe, as bravely lose his life in it. Hee in a great battaile neere Cydna, a City of Macedonia, overthrew *Perseus*, and having chased him and turned him out of his Campe, with the ruine of

of all his Army, compelled him, quitting all his hopes to flee out of Macedonia; which hee forsaking, fled into the Island of *Samothracia*, and there as Suppliant, betooke himselfe to the Sanctuary of the Temple. To him *Cneius Octavius* the Prætor who commanded the fleet, did come, and more with reason than force perswaded him to entrust himselfe to the fidelitie of the Romans. So did *Paulus* lead in triumph one of the greatest and noblest Kings of that time, the same yere in which the triumphes of *Octavius*, the Prætor of the Navie, and of *Amicius* carrying *Gentius*, King of the Illyrians before his Chariot, were so conspicuous. How perpetuall a companion of a high and eminent fortune envie is, out of this may bee collected,

that

that where no man offered to oppose the triumphs of *Octavius*, and *Amicius*, there wanted not some that laboured hard, to hinder that of *Paulus*, whose glory did so farre outgo the others as well by the greatnesse of king *Persens*, by the shew of Images, and Statues, as by the quantity of money, that he brought into the Treasury two hundred millions of Sesterces, and in the magnificence of it, did farre outstrippe all triumphs whatsoever had gone before him.

CHAP.

## CHAP. 10.

*The proud commanding of Antiochus to have Egypt in quiet by Popilius Lænas the Roman Embassador. Emilius his loss of both his sonnes about the time of his triumph.*

**A**T the same time when *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who had at Athens begunne to set up the Olympick games, being King of Syria did besige in Alexandria the infant King *Ptolome*, *Marcus Popilius Læna* was sent Ambassador to him to command him to desist from his attempt, who delivering his message, and the King answering that he would thinke of it, made a circle with his staffe in the sand about the King, and charged him to give him an answer before he went

out of the same : So did the Roman constancy put an end to the Kings Consultations, and the command was obeyed. But *Lucius Paulus* who had gotten a great and glorious victory, was father of foure sonnes : Two of them, being the eldest, he had given to be adopted, the one to *Publius Scipio*, sonne to *Publius* the Africane, who of his fathers greatnesse and bravery held nothing but the glory of the name, & a forcible eloquence; the other to *Fabius Maximus*. The other two being the younger, who had not yet put on the habit accustomed to be worne by mē, at the time that he obtayned the forementioned victory, he retei- ned to himselfe. When according to the auncient custome, before he entred the Citie, he made a relation, before his triumph

umph of his carriage in his affaires (He besought the immortal gods that if any of them did maligne his actions, and envy his fortune, that they rather would shew their spleene upon him then upon the Common wealth, which words as delivered by an oracle, did ere long draw a great deale of his blood from him. For one of his two sons whom he had retained in his house, with him, he lost a few dayes before his triumph, and the other within fewer dayes after it. About this time there was a sharpe Censure pronounced by *Fulvius Flaccus* & *Posthumus Albinus* for *Cneus Fulvius* brother to the Censor *Fulvius*, and also his partner in all things was by the same Censors put out of the Senate.

CHAP.

## CHAP. II.

*A counterfeit Philip in Macedonia overthrowne by Metellus Macedonicus. Metellus his fortunate life and death.*

**A**FTER the defeate and taking of *Perseus*, who at the end of foure yeares, deceased in a free restraint at *Alba*, a counterfeit *Philip*, so termed, by reason of his fiction, in pretending a fabulous descent, when he gave out himselfe to be *Philip*, and of the royall blood, being full of extreamest boldnesse, & having with armed hand seized upon *Macedon*, and usurped the ensignes of majesty: within a short time received for the same his due payment. For the Pretor *Quintus Metellus*, who for his valour was surnamed the *Macedonian*

donian gaining a noble victory, overthrew him and the whole Nation: and also defeated the Achaians who were beginning to rebell, in a great and bloody battaile. This is that *Metellus* the Macedonian that built the Galleries which did compasse about the two Temples, which were founded without any title of dedication, and are now surrounded with the Galleries of Octavia: and who brought out of Macedon that troupe of Horsemen's Statues, which stand in the front of the Temples, and are at this day the principall ornament of that place. The cause of the making that company of Statues is reported to be, that *Alexander* the great did desire of *Lysippus* a principall Arts-master in those workes, that he would make the Statues of those horsemen of his

his which were slaine, out of his owne troupe at the river of Granicke, to the life, and place his owne among them. He also was the first, who building an house at Rome of the marble taken out of ancient Monuments, did give a beginning there, either to their magnificence or excesse. Hardly canst thou find a man of any Nation, Age, or qualitie, whose felicitie thou mayest compare with the fortune of *Metellus*: For besides his glorious triumphs, his honors of the highest degrees, and his eminent place in the Common wealth, his life prolonged to old age, his sharpe yet guiltlesse Contentions with his enemies for the Common-wealths cause: He had foure sonnes, saw them all men grown, left them all behinde him alive and full of honours; when he was

C

dead

dead, his foure sonnes tooke up his bed with his body before the Rostra ; one of them a man of Consular degree, and that had bin Centor; the second that had also beene Consull ; the next at the same time Consull ; and the last then stood Canditate for the Consulship, which honour he also obtained. This is indeede rather happily to depart this life then to dye.

## C H A P. 12.

*Corinth rebelling, raised by Mummius, and Carthage by Scipio Emilianus. The death of Cato, the perpetuall urger of the razing of Carthage.*

**A**fter this, as we have before related, when all Achaia was bent to warres, whereof a great

great part was by the Armes and valour of *Metellus Macedonicus* reduced, the Corinthians furiously and with foule indignities against the Romans, flying to Armes, *Mummius* the Consull was appointed to command in that war. And about the same time, (rather for that the Romans were willing to beleeye whatsoever was reported of the Carthaginians, then for that the reports that were brought them were worthy credit) the Senate resolved, utterly to demolish Carthage. And then it was that *Publius Scipio Emilianus*, a man wholly resembling in his vertues his Grandfather *Publius Africanus*, and his father *Lucius Paullus* and in all endowments, both of warre and peace, and as well for his Iudgement, as Knowledge, the most eminent of his time,

who in his life, did never either doe, or speake, or thinke, any thing, but what was praise-worthy, whom we have before delivered to be the sonne of *Paulus*, but adopted by *Scipio* the sonne of *Africanus*, when he sought for the Ediles place, was created Consull. That warre against Carthage, which had bin by other Consulls managed two yeares before, he followed with greater eagernes. Having before that, in Spaine, beene honoured with a murall crowne, and in Africa, with one given to him, that by seige had mastered any place: and had also in Spaine, being challenged, slaine an Enemie, of a vast both strength and body, himselfe being but of ordinary abilitie and forces. So that Citie more disliked by the Romanes, for the competition of Command

mand, then for any fault it had committed in those times, he raised to the foundations: and rendered that a monument of his valour, which it was before of his Grandfathers clemency. Carthage was destroyed about one hundred seventy seven yeares since, after it had stood six hundred sixtie seven yeares, in the Consulship of *Cnaeus Cornelius Lentulus* and *Lucius Mummius*. This end befell to Carthage the emulator of the Romãs greatnes and command, with whom our Auncestors beganne the warre, when *Claudius* and *Fulvius* were Consulls, two hundred nintie and six yeares, before *Marcus Virginius* didst enter the Consulship. So that for the space of one hundred & fiftene yeares, there was betweene these two Nations, either warres, or

preparations for it or any uncertaine peace: & not to be trusted. Neither did Rome who now had mastered the whole world, esteeme her selfe and hope to be in securitie, if the name of Carthage still resting on foote were in any place extant. So doth the hate growne out of contention, out-live the feare of the concurrent, nor is it at an end when he is conquered: neither yet doth he cease to be maligned, till he cease to have a being.

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C H A P.

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## C H A P. 13.

*The difference in disposition, betweene Scipio and Mummius, the first neate and gentle, the second, ignorant and rude, yet the one called from his victory the African, the other Achaian.*

**T**Hree yeares before Carthage was ruined, *Marcus Cato*, the perpetuall urger of the destruction thereof, when *Lucius Censorinus* and *Marcus Maximus* were Consuls, ended his life. In the same yeare that Carthage fell, *Lucius Mummius*, eight hundred fiftietwo yeares, after it was founded by *Haleses* the sonne of *Hippotes*, did raze Corinth to the ground. Both the Commanders were honoured with a surname from that of the Nation conquered by them, the

one being called the African the other the Achaian. Neither was any man of those of the first head entituled to a name before *Mummius* that was acquired by his vertue. The disposition of these Commanders, was much different: their studies also were nothing like. For *Scipio* was so curious, both an Arts-man and an Admirer of the liberall arts and all kinde of learning, as he kept both in the warres and at home, *Polibius* and *Panæus* men of excellent knowledge, perpetually about him. For never did any man more daintily put away the vacations that he had from businesse, then this *Scipio* when he was at leysure, and continually was he employed either in the Art of warre, or that of peace, being alwayes in Armes, or at his studies, he either enured his  
body

body to labour & dangers, or his mind with profitable studies. *Mummius* was so clownish, as after the taking of Corinth, when he hired certaine men to carrie some pictures and, statues the choicest and perfectest workes of the greatest Artists, into Italy, he commanded them that had the charge of them, to be told that if they spoyled the, they should make the new. But I doe not thinke (*Vinicius*) that thou art in doubt whether it had beene better for the Common wealth that this art of the Corinthians had still remained in the first rudenesse rather then to have binne so perfectly understood: or whether this wisdom or that ignorance would have beene a more  
convenient

convenient ornament for the  
Republique.

CHAP. 14.

*A Catalogue of all the Roman Colonies, that were planted any where before the coming of Hannibal into Italy.*

**N**OW since the presentment  
of divers things contracted  
into one, doth more easily make  
an impression into our eies and  
minde than that which is divided  
into several times; I have determined  
to distinguish the first  
part of this worke from the last,  
with no unusefull delivery of  
things done, compendiously  
drawn together; And to insert in  
this place what Colonies, and in  
what time by decree of the Senate,  
rate,

nate, were after the taking of  
Rome by the Gaules, carried  
and planted abroad: for of those  
which were settled by occasion  
of the warres, both the causes,  
and the Authors, and the names  
of the places themselves, are very  
glorious. To this end wee  
shall not seeme unseasonably to  
weave in our discourse, the times  
wherein Cities had their beginning,  
and the Roman name an  
increase by the Communication  
of their priviledges. Seven  
yeares after Rome was taken by  
the Gaules, a Colonie was planted  
at Satrium, and the yeare  
following, another at Setina.  
After nine yeares more, one at  
Nepe, and then at the end of  
thirtie two yeares, the Aricynes  
were received into, and made  
free of the Citie. But about sixe  
hundred and fiftie yeares since

*Spirius*

*Spurius Posthumius*, and *Veturius Calvinus* being Consuls, the freedome of the Citie was granted to the Campanians, and part of the Samnites, without power of giving their voyces, and the same year a Colonie was led to Cales; within three yeares after, were the Fundanes and Formians received into the Citie, in the same year that Alexandria was founded. In the next Consuls time, was the freedome of the Citie granted by *Spurius Posthumius*, and *Philo Publius* then Censors, to the Acerranes. Three yeares after that was a Colonie carried to Taracina, and foure yeares more being past, one to Luceria, and the third year after that to Sueſſa, Aurunca, and Saticula, then within two yeares, one to Interamnīs: from thence for ten yeares ſpace, nothing of this

this nature was done: then were two Colonies placed at Sura and Alba, and two yeares after, one at Confinium: but when *Quintus Fabius* was Consul the fifth time, and *Decius Mus* the fourth time, in which year *Pirrus* began his reigne, Colonies were sent to Sinuessa and Minturnæ; and foure yeares after to Venusia, within two yeares after which without libertie of giving their voyces, when *Marcus Curius* and *Rufinus Cornelius* were Consuls, the Sabines were made free of the Citie. This was about three hundred and twentie yeares ſince, but the Coſſan and Peſtum were received almost three hundred yeares past. In the Conſulſhip of *Fabius Dors*, and *Claudius Caudex*: five yeares being elapied, *Comperius Sordus*, & *Appius* the ſonne of the blind man

man being Consuls, Colonies were sent to Ariminum, and Beneventum, and also the freedom of voice in election, was granted to the Sabines. But in the beginning of the first Punique warres, Firmum and Castrum were planted with Colonies a yeare after, so was Aesernia, and two and twentie yeares after that Aesulum, Alifum, and Fregellæ; then two yeares after, and the yeare following, *Torquatus* and *Sempronius* Consuls, Brundisium; and at the end of three yeares more, Spoletum. In which yeare was the beginning of the celebration of the playes in honour of the Goddess *Flora*. After two yeares Valentia was made a Colony, and upon the comming of *Hanibal* into Italy, Cremona, and Placentia.

CHAP.

## CHAP. 15.

*Another Register of such as were planted after that, till the time of Caius Marius his sixth Consulship.*

FROM that time while *Hanibal* remained in Italy, the Romans were not at leisure to thinke of founding Colonies. The next ensuing yeares after his quitting it, when as during the warres, souldiers were rather to be provided than discharged; and after the end of it, their forces had need of being cherished, and held united together, more than of being scattered and dispersed. But when *Cneius Aemilius* Volso & *Marcus Fulvius* Nobilior were Consuls, a Colony was.

was planted at Bononia, almost two hundred and seventene yeares since; and foure yeares after, two others at Pisaurum and Potentia; then three yeares being past at Aquileia and Gravisca; and after foure yeares more, one at Luca. In the same times (although some there are that doubt thereof) there were Colonies sent to Puteoli, Salernum, and Buxentum; but to Auximum in the Picene countrey almost one hundred eightie seven yeares since; three yeares before that *Cassius* the Censor at the turning from the Iupercall to Mount Palatine, erected a Theater, in the demolishing whereof the strict severity of the Cicer, and the Consul *Capit*, did most nobly appeare, which their act I should willingly reckon among the bravest

vest arguments of the publique inclination in those dayes. When *Cassius Longinus* and *Sextius Calvinus* (who overthrew the Salves by the waters which of his name are called Sextian) almost a hundred fittie and seven yeares since was one carried to Fabrateria, and a yeare after these, other were planted at Scylacium, Minervium, Tarentum, Neptunia, and Carthage in Affrica, the first (as we have late said before) that was settled by them out of Italy. Of Dertona there is some doubt. But when *Marcus Porcius*, and *Quintus Marius* were Consuls, a Colony was planted in Narbo Marcius in Gallia, about a hundred and fittie yeares since; and thirtie three yeares after, when *Marius* was the sixth time Consul, and *Valerius Flaccus*, another

ther was fetled at Ephoredia in the Countrey of Vagienna. Nor can I commit to memory after that time any Colony that was planted, but of souldiers.

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CHAP. 16.

*A kinde of master roll of excellent men in severall professions that flourished about one age: In the Tragicke Comicke veines; in Philosophy, Oratory, and the like, among the Grecians.*

**T**Hough this parcell of my worke hath in a sort out-gone the proportion that I had designed for it: and that I understand that in this so over-speedy a poasting, which, like a wheele, an overfall of water,

or

or a downe right precipice, doth not give mee leave to rest any where; more necessary ones are almost rather to be permitted, than superfluous ones to be entertained: I cannot yet containe my selfe, but I must observe and marke out a matter which I have often had in agitation in my minde, and whereof the reason hath not hitherto beene sufficiently cleared. For who can too much wonder, that the most remarkable spirits in every kinde of profession, in the same manner, the same confined space of a little, and strengthened time, and as creatures of a different kinde, out of a closed cage or a severall division, are never the lesse distinguished from those of another sort, though kept together in one body. So those wits that were

were capable of any worthy worke to have varied from one another in all resemblances as if they had beene of other times and abilities in proficiencie. For one age, and that not consisting of many yeares, did enoble the Tragicke Bu-kin by the meanes of the divinely spirited men *Aeschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*. One age and within a very few yeares did the same honour to the first and antient Comicke veine under *Cratinus*, *Aristophanes*, and *Eupolis*; and inventing the newer straine of *Menander*, and those that were rather his equalls in time than in his workes. *Philemon* and *Diphilus* left behinde them peeces not to be imitated. As for the Philosophers excellencies deduced from the instructions of *Socrates* (of all whom we

wee have a little before made mention) how small a time did they flourish after the death of *Aristotle* and *Plato*? What was there worth regard among the Orators before *Isocrates*? what after his auditors and their disciples? So were they shut up within a little compasse of time, that there was none of them worth the remembring, who might not have seene one another.

## CHAP. 17.

*The like and about the same time among the Romans.*

NEither did this befall the Greekes more then the Romans; for except thou wilt remember things harsh and unpolished, the invention of Roman tragedies is to be ascribed,  
and

and commended in *Assis* with the times about his dayes, and the dainty witty conceit of the Latine about the same age. were by *Cacilius*, *Terence*, and *Afranius* rendred worthy of an high esteeme. The Historians (if thou wilt adde to the number of those before him, *Livius*) besides *Caesar* and some others as ancient as obscure: were included within the compasse of eightie yeares: so neyther did the plenty of Poets eyther shew it selfe before that time, or much come after it. But for the Art of Oratorie and the abilitie of pleading in open court with the perfection of Eloquence in prose, excepting the fore-named *Caesar*, (let mee speake with favour of *Publius Crassus*, *Scipio*, *Laelius*, the *Gracchi*, *Fannius* and *Sergius Galba*) did so totally glitter under the Prince

Prince thereof *Tully*, that thou canst not observe more then a very few to have beene taken with it before him: but none to have admired it who either was not knowne to him or had the good fortune to know him. Whosoever shall be curious in the searching the times past, shall finde, that the same hath been the fate of Grammarians, Potters, Painters, and Carvers. The eminence of all manner of Sciences I finde to bee circumscribed within the compasse of a very short time. But when I seeke for the cause that wrought both for curiositie and profit, such a similitude betweene the wits of that age, and that which preceded it; I finde none of the truth of which I may be confident: yet perhaps I have met with some that are probable. Among which these are the principall;

principall. Emulation doth nourish the wit, and one while Envie, another while Admiration doth heate the contentions, as all nature doth climbe to the top of that which is with extreamest ardencie desired and hardly can he stop that strives to reach to perfection. Againe, in nature that which cannot goe forward, retires backe: and as at first wee are on fire to reach them that we esteeme before us; so when as we despaire of out-going and over-taking them, our desire together with our hope, doth grow faint and old, and what cannot be compassed, ceaseth to be followed, and the pursuer, as a place already possesse, quits it and seekes a new one: and letting that passe, in which we can be of no high esteeme, we seek some other subject, to which to bend

bend our endeavors: from whence it follows that a frequent & changing passing from one studie to another is the greatest hindrance to the arriving at perfection in any thing.

## CHAP. 18.

*(Of Athens, the sole City of Greece, famous for arts, Thebes excepted by breeding of Pindarus.*

**M**Y admiration now passeth to consider of the times & Cities. One only Citie of Attica did flourish longer in eloquence, & those kinde of workes than all Greece besides. So that thou wouldest thinke, that the bodies of that nation were divided into other Cities, their wits shut up within the wals of Athens alone. Nor doe I more wonder at this than that there was no Orator among the Argives, the Thebans or the Lacedemonians thought worthie of Authoritie whiles he lived, or of memorie after his death; which Cities were  
D barren

barren of those knowledges,  
except that the eloquence of  
*Pindarus* did give a lustre to  
Thebes: for Alcmon, the Lace-  
demonians doe with no just title  
challenge to be theirs.

*Velleius*

# *Velleius Paterculus*

His

## ROMANE HISTORIE.

The second Booke.

### CHAP. I.

*The declining of the Roman vertue  
after the ruine of Carthage, the  
warre with Viriatus ended by  
the cunning of Cæpio: & the  
base conditions made first by  
Pompeius, & then by Mancinus  
with the Numantines.*



He former *Scipio* laid  
open the way to the  
Roman power; the  
later to their excesse  
and riot: for the feare of Car-  
thage

thage being removed, and the Competitor of the Empire taken out of the way. not by degrees, but by a precipitate course we fell from vertue, and gave our selves to vices. Our old discipline was quitted, a new one brought in; the Citie turned from watching to sleepe; from Armes to pleasure; from businesse to idlenesse. Then did *Scipio Nasica* build in the Capitoll his Galleries; then *Metellus* his that we before have mentioned: then in the Circus did *Cnaeus Octavius* build his, farre the more beautifull. And this publicke magnificence was followed with private riot. An unlucky & shamefull warre then ensued in Spaine, *Viriatius* commanding & leading the theeves, which was managed with so various fortune, as it was oft-  
nest

nest unfortunate to the Romans. But *Viriatius* being brought to his end, more by the devices of *Servilius Capió*, than by his valour: the warre of *Numantia* much more troublesome was kindled. This Citie could never arme above ten thousand of her owne youth, but either by the fierce bravery of the people, or by the ignorance of our Commanders, or by the favour of fortune: shee forced both other leaders, & *Pompey* himselfe also, a man of a high repute, to accept of most basely dishonourable conditions (this man was of the *Pompeian* family, the first Consull.) Nor lesse foule and detestable were those they extorted from *Marcinus Hostilius* the Consull. But *Pompey* escaped unpunished by the favour that was borne him. *Marcinus*

by his humble shamefastnesse for not refusing it, hee brought it to this, that with his hands bound behinde him, he was delivered by our Heralds to the Enemy, who denied to receive him, as sometimes the Samnites at Caudium did, affirming that the violation of the publicke faith was not to bee expiated with the bloud of one man.

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CHAP. 2.

*The sedition raised upon the deliverie up of Mancinus to the enemy by Tiberius Gracchus: His character and his intendments.*

THE rendring up of *Mancinus* did raise a most dangerous sedition in the Citie: For *Tiberius Gracchus* the sonne of *Tiberius*

*Tiberius Gracchus* (a man most noble and of highest esteeme) Grandchild by his daughter to *Publius Africanus*, who for the time being Questor, when that agreement was made, and besides the Author and contriver of it; One while taking it in the worst part, that any act of his should be disvaled, another while doubting the hazard of the like censure or punishment, being created Tribune of the people, a man otherwise of a life most unblameable, for his judgement most excellent, in his intentions most just; finally, adorned with as great vertues as both nature and industrie being in their perfection, the condition of mortall man is capable of: When *Publius Murius Scaevola* and *Lucius Calphurnius* were Consuls, about one hundred

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dred sixtie two yeares since, fell off from the best and honestest sort of the Citie, and promising freedom of the Citie to all Italy, and withall publishing certaine lawes for the distributing of lands, while all men coveted to have power in the State, hee confounded all things, and brought the Common wealth into a craggie and redoubtable danger, and *Octavius* his fellow in office, for that hee stood for the Common wealth, he deprived of his command. Hee created *Triumvirs* for the division of lands, and the leading out of Colonies; himselfe, his father in law *Appianus* who had beene Consull, and his brother *Gracchus*, who then was but a very youth.

## C H A P. 3.

*The ruine of Gracchus by Scipio Nasica: the death of Gracchus which was the first blood drawne in Rome in civile contentions.*

**T**Hen *Publius Scipio Nasica*, Grandchild to him that by the Senate was judged the best man in the Citie, sonne to him that being Censor built the Galleries in the Capitoll, and great Grandchild to *Cnaeus Scipio*, a man most honourable, uncle to *Publius* the African, being both a private man, and of the gowne, though hee were a neere kinsman of *Tiberius Gracchus*, yet preferring his countrie before his kinred, and thinking whatsoever was not for the welfare of the publike in his owne particular,

ticular, was a stranger to him; for these his virtues, in his absence hee was first of all men created chiefe and Sovereaigne Bishop. When wrapping the skirt of his gowne about his left arme from the highest part of the Capitoll, standing at the top of the staires, hee exhorted as many as desired the preservation of the State to follow him. Then the Noblemen, the Senate, and both the better part and greater of the Knights, together with so many of the Plebeians as were untainted with these pernicious devices, charged upon *Gracchus*, standing with his troupes, and labouring to draw almost all Italy to a head together: He flying and running downe the cliffe of the Capitoll, was stricken with the frame of a stone, and so with

an untimely death ended his life, which hee might have passed with all glorie and honour. This was the beginning of shedding blood in civill contentions in the Citie of Rome, and of swords used without punishment; from thence grew all right to bee troden under foot by force; And the more powerfull and former custome, with the differences betweene the Citizens, which before were wont to be cured by treaties and conditions, were after decided by the sword. Neither were warres taken in hand for just causes and reasons, but as it were their way of trafficke and merchandizing, which to speake truth, is no wonder, for examples doe not rest upon the grounds from which they had their first beginning: but having

made their way thorow any narrow and streight passage, they afterwards take to themselves a course of free and open libertie, and when once men have swarved from that which is right, they runne headlong to all injustice. Nor doth any man thinke that base and dishonourable to him, which another hath found beneficiall.

## CHAP.

## CHAP. 4.

*Aristonicus pretending falsely to the bloud Royall of Asia, which left by Attalus his will to the Romans, as after Bithynia was by Nicomedes, he had seiz'd upon; overthrowne by Mar. Perperna. And Numantia raised by the same Emilianus who before had done as much for Carthage: His death much suspected, but never questioned.*

IN the meane time, while these passages are on foot in Italy. *Aristonicus* after the death of King *Attalus*, by whom Asia was bequeathed as an inheritance to the people of Rome (as likewise sort afterward Bithynia was also left by *Nicomedes*) falsely pretending himselfe to bee  
of

of the blood Royall, posselt himselfe therof by force. He by *Marcus Perperna*. was overthrowne & led in triumph : but *Manius* with the losse of his head, did from *Aquilius* receive his payment, for that in the beginning of the warre he had slaine *Craffus Mucianus*, a man most learned in the lawes, as he was in qualitie of Proconsull upon his departure out of Asia. And *Publius Scipio* the African, sonne of *Emilius*, who had rased Carthage : after so many disasters about Numantia, being created Consull the second time, and sent into Spaine, did there make good the fortune and valour of which hee had before given prooffe in Africa ; And within a yeare and three months after his coming thither, having compassed Numantia round about with

his

his workes, did level it with the ground. Neither did any man of what Nation soever before his time leave his name recommended to perpetuall memorie, by a more glorious destruction of any places : For by the rasing of Carthage, and Numantia, he freed us of feare from the one, and of scorne and reproach from the other. He when the Tribune *Carbo* enquired of him what he thought of the killing of *Tiberius Gracchus*, answered; That if he had in his thoughts to possesse himselfe of the state, he was worthily punished. And when all the assembly cryed out, I (said he) that have so often remained unterrified, with the shouts of the armed enemy, how can I be moved with yours, to whom Italy is a step-mother. Being returned to the Citie, within a while.

while after when *Marcus Aquilius* and *Caius Sempronius* were Consuls, an hundred and fiftie yeares since; after his two Consulships, and two Triumphs, when he twise had quitted the Common wealth of her feares, he was in the morning found dead in his bed; so that certain marks of his being strangled, were found upon his necke. Neither was there ever any enquire made of the cause of a mans death, of so great eminence: and his body was caried out to funeral with his head covered, by whose meanes the citie of Rome had lifted up her head aboue all the inhabited world. So dyed he either a naturall, as the most part supposed, or a death procured by practise, as many have delivered. How ever, he certainly past his course of life most nobly, and was

was in glory inferiour to no man that before that time had beene, except his Grandfather. He departed this life, almost at the end of his sixe and fiftieth yeare: whereof if any man make a question let him looke backe to his former Consulship, to which he was elected in his six and thirtieth yeare, & he will cease to doubt.

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### CHAP. 5.

*Aulus Brutus, his severity of command in Spaine, cause of his victory at Controbia.*

**B**Efore the destruction of Numantia, the command of *Aulus Brutus* in Spain was very glorious: who making his way throughal the nations of Spaine, having

having taken an infinite number of men and Cities, & reached to those people, which were scarce knowne, by heare-say, did worthily obtaine the surname of the Gallician. And before him but a few yeares, the government of that *Quintus* termed the *Macedonian* was so severe, that when he assaulted a Citie called *Contrabia*, five legionarie Cohorts being beaten downe from a clifty place, he immediately commanded them to give upon the same againe. And all his souldiers making their wills as they stood in their ranks, as if they were to runne upon certaine death: the Constancy of the Commander, not frightened from his purpose, received the souldiers backe with victory, whom he had sent to die. Such was the effect of feare mingled with shame,

shame, and a hope spring out of despaire. This man by the valour and severity of his action: but *Paulus Emilianus*, following the example of the former *Paulus*, by his discipline in Spaine, did grow very famous.

## CHAP. 6.

*The stirres raised by Caius Gracchus, brother to Tiberius, intending the same or worse then his brother had attempted: His character and overthrow by Oppidius.*

TEN yeares then being elapsed, the same fury which had possessed *Tiberius Gracchus*, did also seaze upon his brother *Caius*, who did aswell resemble him in all his vertues, as in this error, but in his wit and eloquence

quence far more excellent. Who when with all tranquillitie of mind, he might have been a principall man in the Citie, either for revenge of his brothers death or to invest himselfe in a regall power, taking him for his parterne, and entred upon the Tribuneship, attempting things far greater and more insupportable: granted the freedome of the Citie to all Italians, did extend almost to the Alps, divided lands, forbade any Citizen to possess above five hundred acres (which was also provided for by the law *Licinia*) imposed new customes upon Merchandize, filled the Provinces with new Colonies, transferred the power of hearing and determining from the Senate to the order of Knights, purposed to distribute Corne to the Common people;

people; left nothing unstirred, nothing at peace, finally, not any thing that was at quiet in the same estate. And further prorogued his Tribuneship for another year. Him *Lucius Optimus* then Consul, who when he was Praetor, had raised *Fregela*, pursued with force, and together with *Fulvius Flaccus* a man of Consular qualitie, and that had triumphed, whom as badly affected as himselfe, *Caius Gracchus* had made *Triumvir* in the roome of his brother *Tiberius*, & his Consort in his royall power, deprived of his life. That alone is reported to have beene wickedly done by *Optimus*; That he set a price and proclaimed that hee would in ready gold pay it upon the head (that I may not say of *Gracchus*) of a Citizē of Rome. *Flaccus* when upon Mount Aventine

ventine he drew on and encouraged his armed troupes to fight was with his eldest sonne there slaine. *Gracchus* as he was flying when now he was at the point of being apprehended by those that *Opimius* for that purpose had sent, presented his necke to his servant *Euporus*: who no more faintly slew himselfe, after he had done, then he did assist and free his lord. That day the faithfulnessse of *Pomponius* a Roman Knight to *Gracchus*, was very notable; who like *Coeles* making a stand upon the bridge against all the force of the enemy at the last fell upon his sword. As before the body of *Tiberius Gracchus*, so now also that of *Cornelius* with a strange cruelty of the Conqueror, was throwne into the Tiber.

CHAP.

## CHAP. 7.

*The cruelty of Opimius to a delicate youth, sonne to Flaccus one of Gracchus his associates, and others of that faction, detested by the Romanes who were of his side.*

**T**His was both in life and death, the fortune of the sonnes of *Tiberius Gracchus*, and the Grandchildren of *Publius Scipio* the Affrican, in the life time of their Mother *Cornelia* daughter to the Affrican. Men that made ill use of most excellent abilities of spirit, who if they had desired any proportion of honours within the compasse of a Civill estate, whatsoever they in a tumultuous manner sought to reach the Commonwealth,

wealth to them if quiet would have presented. To this sharpness was added a transcending villany: for a youth of excellent beauty not as yet full eighteen yeeres old, and not guilty of his fathers faults, the sonne of *Fulvius Flaccus*, who his father had sent as a messenger to propound a treatie, was by *Opimius* put to death. Whom when a Tuscan tooth-layer his friend observed to be drag'd weeping to prison, why dost thou not rather (said he) thus: and with all running his head against the stone bridge, at the prison gate, with his braines beaten out, fell downe dead. Presently were there cruell inquisitions set on foote against the friends and followers of the *Gracchi*. But for *Opimius* a man in other things upright and grave, when he was afterward condemned

condemned by the Iudgement of all the people: the memory of that his cruelty would not suffer him to be with any humanitie pittied. The same spight also of a publique censure did not unadvisedly ruine within a while after *Rutilius* and *Popilius* who when they were Consulls had beene most bitterly eager upon the friends of the *Gracchi*. Let me intermingle with affaires of so great consequence, a thing scarce worth the being known. This is that *Opimius* from whose Consullship, the wine called *Opimian*, tooke its name, and was most highly esteemed, which that it is not now to bee met with, the distance of time it self will declare it, being from him to the Consulat of thee *Marcus Vinicius* one hundred fiftie and one yeares. An authoritie of  
E lesse

lesse power did succeed this act of *Optimius*, because they sought to satisfy their particular spleenes, and the revenge was rather ascribed to private hate than to the vindicating of the publique right. In the next ensuing yeare *Porcius* and *Marcus* being Consuls, a Colony was planted at *Narbo Marcus*.

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CHAP. 8.

*Caius Cato condemned of extortion for a petty summe. The two Metelli neare kinsmen, triumph in one day, as also the two brothers of the Flacci. And Minutius upon the Scordisci.*

**L** Et now the severitie of the Citties Censures be recommended to memory : For *Caius Cato*

*Cato* a man of Consular qualitie, grandchild of *Marcus Cato*, and sonne to the sister of the African, was condemned upon information out of Macedonia of extortion, when the question was but of foure thousand Sesterces. Thus did they rather bend their eyes upon the disposition to offend, then the measure of the crime, squaring the fact by the rule of the intention, and weigh what, not how farre men did offend.

About the same time, the brothers of *Marcus Metellus* did triumph in one day. Now was the fortune lesse remarkable, as hitherto the sole one of that kinde of the sonnes of *Fulvius Flaccus* (his I meane, who had taken Capua) in the Colledge of Consulls, whereof the one was given in adoption,

and he so received into the family of *Alcidianus Mantius*. For the Censureship of the *Metelli*, was of Cozen-germans, not of brothers, which happineffe had onely befallen to the two *Scipios*. Then did the Cimbri & the Teutones passe over the Rhine who presently aswell by our many losses as by their owne became famous. At the same time that *Minutius* who built the Galleries, which even to this day are highly esteemed, did bravely triumph over the Scordisci.

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CHAP.

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## CHAP. 9.

*A register of Romanes in that time famous for poesie, History, and other arts of the like kinde.*

**I**N the the same age were *Scipio Emilianus*, and *Laelius*, *Sergius Galba*, the two *Gracchi*, *Caius Fannius*, and *Cerbo Papirius*, famous for eloquence. Neither is *Metellus Numidicus*, or *Severus* to be forgotten, but above all *Lucius Crassus* and *Marcus Antonius*, to whom both in time and abilities succeeded *Caius Caesar*, *Strabo* and *Publius Sulpicius*. For *Mucius* was more famous for his skill in the law then for any eloquence that he was owner of.

About the same time were highly prized the ingeniousesse

for Comedyes of *Afranius*, for Tragedies, of *Pacuvius* & *Attius*, who were honoured even to the being paralleld with the Grecian witts, who did not refuse to their workes prime ranke among themselves. So as indeed it seemed there was in these more daintines; in them more substantiall bloud. The name also of *Lucilius*, was at that time of high esteeme, who served on horsebacke under *Publius* the African in the warre of *Numantia*; When *Iugurth* also being a young man, and *Marius* serving under the Command of the same Generall, did in the same army learne what they afterward should execute in armes of an opposite quallite. The Historiographer *Sisenna* was then young: but his worke of *Silla's* civill warre, he wrote

wrote some yeares after, when he was old. *Calius* was more ancient then *Sisenna*, but *Rutilius*, *Claudius*, *Quadrigenus* and *Valerius Antias*, were in the same age with him. Yet let us not be ignorant, that in that age was *Pomponius* notable for his concept of a harsh stile, and for the new Invention of his worke praise worthy.

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CHAP.

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## C H A P. 10.

*Lepidus Aelius censured for hiring a house at 600 sesterces: a mean rate in succeeding times. Domitian victorious over the Arverni, and Fabius, for his, surnamed Allobrogian. The fate of the Domitian family to have but one Sonne of a Father, yet all arrive at the highest honours.*

**A**ND here let us observe the famous severity of the Censors, *Cassius, Longinus* and *Capio* who one hundred fiftie and seven yeares since, did call in question, *Lepidus Aelius* the Augur, for that he had hired a house of six thousand As's rent. If now any man should dwell in one of that value, he should scarce be acknowledged for a Senator. So easily do men fall from what

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is fit, to errors, from errors to crimes, and from crimes to the bottome of all wickedness. In the same tract of time, the victory of *Domitian* over the *Arverni* and that of *Fabius*, of the *Allobroges* were glorious. To *Fabius* the Grandchild of *Paulus*, for that his victory, the surname of the *Allobrogian* was added; where is to be observed, that in the Domitian family there was a peculiar, and as it was most noble, so was it a felicitie bounded within the number of a very few men. As before this *Cneus Domitianus* a young man of a most worthy and cleere roundness: there were of the same house but all the sole sons of their Fathers: yet all of them attained Consullships and priesthoods, and almost all of them the honour of Triumphs.

## CHAP. II.

*The warre of Iugurth managed first by Metellus, ended by Caius Marius: His character: 12 Metelli or more; within twelve yeares, of the Cecilian family either Consuls or triumph.*

Then followed the warre with *Iugurth*, managed by *Quintus Metellus* a man inferiour to no one of his time: His Lieutenant was *Caius Marius*, of whom wee spake before: borne of a family of Knights, rugged and sterne, of a course life, as the fittest for the warrs, so the worst for peace, knowing no meane, insatiably greedy of glory, in his passions ungoverned, and alwaies unquiet. He by the Customers and others that traded in Africa, accusing *Metellus* of

of slownesse, as who had drawne the warres out into a length of three yeares, and the innate pride of the Nobilitie, with their greedy desire of prolonging their Command: did bring to passe, that when having gotten leave, he was come to Rome, and created Consull: the whole charge of the warre, now almost brought to an end by *Metellus*, as who had twice overthrowne *Iugurth* in open filde, was committed to him. Yet notwithstanding was the triumph of *Metellus*, as glorious as well deserved, and for his worth and valour, the surname of *Numidian* bestowed upon him. As before wee remembred the Noblesse of the Domitian, so heere wee must observe that of the *Cecilian* family, in which almost with-

within the compasse of twelve yeares, at this time there were above twelve Metelli that either were Consuls or Censors, or did triumph. So that it appeares, that as the fortune of Cities and States, so also that of races or families doth now flourish, now grow old, now perish and come to an end.

## CHAP. 12.

Marius by *Silla* his *Questor*, had *Jugurth* delivered up from *Bocchus*: Overthrowes the *Teutones* with slaughter in two daies of 150000 men. And after with his colleague, *Catulus*, the *Cimbres*, with the losse of above 100000 slaine or taken.

**B**Ut *Caius Marius* had associated to him for his treasurer  
*Lucius*

*Lucius Silla*, the destinies as it were making way for him: and by him whom hee had sent to King *Bocchus*, neere one hundred and thirtie yeares since received King *Jugurth* delivered to him: and being againe chosen Consul at his returne to the City, in the Calends of January, and the beginning of his second Consulship, led him in triumph. Then as before we have related when a vast multitude of the German Nations, who were called the *Cimbres* and *Teutones*, had poured themselves out upon us, & had overthrowne *Capto* & *M. M. M.* the Consul, and before that in *Gallia*, *Carbo* and *Metellus*, and turned them out of their army, and slaine *Scaurus* *Aurelius* the Consul, with others of principall marke & qualitie: the people of Rome to repell so potent

tent an enimie. did thinke no man more fit to cōmand in chiefe than *Marius*. The third yeare then of his redoubled Consulship was spent in the preparatiō for the warre; in which yeare *Cneus Domitius*, Tribune of the people, did preferre a law, that the Priests, whom before that their fellowes in office did institute, should bee created by the people. In his fourth Consulship, he fought with the Teutones beyond the Alpes, neere the Sextian waters: and having put to the sword in that day and the next, above one hundred and fiftie thousand men, he did extirpate the whole Nation. In his fifth on this side the Alpes in the fields which are called Raudij, himselfe being Confull and *Quintus Lucatius Cæculus* Proconfull, in a most fortunate

fortunate encounter, there were of the enemies slaine or taken prisoners, more than one hundred thousand men. With this victory *Marius* did seeme to have deserved of the Common wealth that it should not be forric that he was borne in it, and with his good service to have made amends for the ill that hee was author of: his sixth Consulship was conferred upon him as a reward of his merits: yet notwithstanding let him not be unjustly deprived of the glory of this Consulship, in which he being Confull, did with force of armes, tame the madnesse of *Servilius Glancia*, and *Saturninus Apuleius*, whom borne and bent onely to doe mischief, with their unintermitted honors, tearing the Common-wealth in peeces, and with the sword and slaughter

slaughter, disordering, and scattering the assemblies of the people : in the Hostilian Court hee punished with death.

CHAP. 13.

Marcus Livius Drusus *intending well to the Senate, but mistaken by them.*

**A**FTER this a few yeares being interposed, *Marcus Livius Drusus* entred his Tribuneship, a man most noble and excelling both in eloquence and goodnesse : who with farre better intentions than fortune undertooke the affaires that presented themselves, who when hee endeavoured to restore to the Senate their antiently former honour, and to draw to that order from the Knights the power

power of judging and determining : for the Knights having by the power of the Gracchian Lawes gotten that authoritie, when they had raged against many of most eminent marke, and those also most innocent, and also had condemned with the infinite lamentation of the whole Citie *Publius Rutilius* of extortion; (A man not of that age alone, but of any whatsoever equall to the most vertuous) did even in those things, which for their behoofe hee contrived finde the Senate opposite to him. They not understanding that if hee proposed any thing for the advantage or benefit of the Plebeians, that it was done to the end as with a baite to draw the multitude to his favour, that having obtained pettie things and trifles, they might give

give way to matters of greater import. Finally, such was the fortune of *Drusus*, that the Senate did better approve the miscarriage of his fellow Tribunes, than his excellent intendment and scorning the honors which were by him presented to them, did with an equall temper brooke the injuries of others, envying him that height of glory, and enduring the poore and meane repute of the rest.

## CHAP. 14.

*The same man by some of their procurement, murdered with a knife, in a crowd at his owne house.*

**T**He minde of *Drusus* then (since his faire intentions succeeded ill) being turned to granting

granting freedome of the Citie to all Italy, which when he had bene labouring for, and returned out of the Market place, attended with the vast and innumerable multitude, which did alwayes follow him, being in the court of his owne house, stricken with a knife, which was left sticking in his side, within a few houres breathed his last. But being at the last gaspe, looking upon a number that stood about him, and lamented for him, hee let fall one word most sutable to the integritie of his conscience, Will ever (sa' I he) [my kinsmen and friends] our Common wealth finde a Citizen affected to her good, like my selfe. This was the end of that most noble young man, of whose disposition it should be amisse to forbear giving

ving one argument. When he built his house upon Mount Palatine, in that place, which once was *Cicero's*, after that *Censorinus* his, and now belongs to *Statilius Sisenna*, and the Architect promised him that hee would so order it, that having an open prospect abroad, it should bee free from all view of any man without, nor should any looke into, or supervise it: nay, rather (said he) if thou hast any skill at all, to frame my house, as whatsoever I doe in it may be seene by all the world.

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CHAP.

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CHAP. 15.

*Carthage the first Colonie planted out of Italy: that plantations out of the native continent, have bin pernicious. The death of Drusus cause of the Italian warre. Metellus Numidicus banished by Saturninus the Tribune, and recalled by the meanes of his son.*

I Would reckon among the most pernicious points of the lawes of *Gracchus* that he planted Colonies in other countries beyond the bounds of Italy. That error our Ancestors had so carefully avoyded (when they observed Carthage to be growne so much more powerfull than Tyre, Massilia, then Phocæa, Sicacusa, then Corinth, Cizicum, and Bizantium, then Miletum, which

which were their originall and Mother countries) that out of the provinces, they still recalled the Citizens to Rome to be taxed. The death of *Drusus* raised the warre of Italy, which already and before his death was boiling: For when *Lucius Cassius* and *Publius Rutilius* were Consuls, now one hundred and twentie yeares since when that disease being as by contagion spread from the *Æsculans* over all Italy (for they had slaine the Prætor *Servius*, and *Fonteinus* the Legate) and having infused it selfe among the *Marsians*, was runne thorow the whole country, had armed them against the Romans, whose fortune as was bitter, so was their cause most just; for they required to be members of that Citie, whose Empire and command they desired to maintain

maintain

maintaine with their swords. That at all times, and in all warres, they did furnish double the number, both of horse and foot: that the Romans themselves brought to the field: and yet might not be admitted to the priviledges of that Citie, which by their meanes and valour was arrived at that height that he should loath and scorne men of both the same blood and Nation, as Forrainers and Aliens. That warre consumed more than three hundred thousand of the youth of Italy. The principal Commanders of the Roman side in that warre, were *Gnaeus Pompeius*, father to *Gnaeus Pompeius* the great, *Caius Marius* of whom wee spake before, *Lucius Sylla*, who the yeare last past had beene Prætor, and *Quintus Metellus*, sonne

sonne to him that was surnamed *Numidian*, who deservedly purchased the surname of Pious. For by his pietie to his parent, by the authoritie of the Senate, and with the consent of the whole Common wealth hee restored his father to his countrie, being expelled by *Lucius Saturninus* the Tribune of the people, because he alone refused to sweare the observation of the lawes propounded by him. Nor was that *M. Metellus* the Numidian more enobled by his triumphes, or the honors which hee had attained, than hee was by the cause of his banishment the exile it selfe, or his returne from it.

## CHAP. 16.

*The Italian Captaines in that warre, the fortune various, the end advantageous for the Romans.*

OF the Italian partie, the most remarkeable Captaines were, *Silo Poppedius*, *Herennius Aspinus*, *Iustinus Caro*, *Caius Pontidius*, *Telusius Pontius*, *Marius Egnatius*, & *Papins Mamilius*. Nor will I by my bashfulnessse lessen at all the glory of my owne bloud and family, so long as I but relate the truth: For not a little honour is due to the memorie of *Minutius Magius* my great Grandfather, who being Nephew to *Decius Magius* the noblest of all the *Campanians*, and a man of most unspotted fidelitie, did serve the Romans

Romans in this warre, with so much loyaltie, that with a legion which himselfe had raised among the *Hirpines*, hee tooke *Herculanum*, and in it *Titus Didius*, and consoorted with *Lucius Sulla*, besieged the *Pompeies*, and forced *Cosa*. Of whose worth both divers other, and especially, as well as most clearly *Quintus Hortensius* in his Annals, hath made relation: And whose deservings the people of Rome did afterward amply, and fully remunerate, both in endowing him (and that not among others, but) singly and by himselfe with the priviledges of the Citie; and in creating his two sonnes *Prætors*, when the old man was not yet past begetting of other children, but had some borne to him after that time. So variable and mischievous

vous was the fortune of that warre, that in two yeares, one after the other, two Roman Consuls were slaine by the enemie, *Rutilius* first, and then *Cato Porcius*: The armies of the Romans in sundry places were defeated, and they compelled to weare onely their Callocks, and remaine a long time in that habite: they chose for the seat of their Empire *Corfinium*, and called it *Italicum*. After that by degrees, and incorporating into the City, such as had either not taken armes at all, or quickly laid them downe, and made their peace, our forces were repaired, and the common wealth sinking and ready to perish, was restored by *Pompey*, *Sylla* and *Marinus*.

## CHAP. 17.

*The Italians made free of the City,  
the refusall whereof before was  
cause of the warre : Sylla made  
Consull.*

**T**HE Italian warre being for the greatest part ended except onely those reliques thereof which remained about Nola, (which settled, the Romans having sheathed their swords, did rather choose to graunt the libertie of the City to those which were conquered and deprest, then before when they were sound and entire) *Quintus Pompeius* entred his Consulship, together with *Lucius Cornelius Sylla*, a man that neither can bee suitably to his merit commended for his carriage before his victory, nor yet

yet in the same proportion dispraised for his actions, after hee was Conquerour. Hee being descended of a noble family, as the sixth from *Cornelius Rufinus*, who in the warre of *Pyrrhus* was reckoned one of the most eminent Captaines of that time, when the honours of his family had beene intermitted, did so carry himselfe for a long time, as it seemed hee had no thought of standing for the Consulship. Afterward growing to reputation in the Italian warre, and before that in his Lievetenancie under *Marins* in France, where hee had routed some of the enemies most esteemed Captaines; hee tooke heart from his good fortune, and requiring the Consulship, was so declared by almost all the voyces of the Citie.

Yet was hee in the nine and fortieth yeare of his age, when he attained to that honour.

## CHAP. 18.

*Warre with Mithridates committed to Sylla: Mithridates his character and acts: the fidelitie of the Rhodians, and perfidiousnesse of the Mytlenians: Sulpitius his character with the charges in his carriage.*

**A**T that time, *Mithridates* King of Pontus, a man (of whom wee may neither bee silent nor yet speake slightly) in warre most eagerly fierce, of notable valour, sometimes in his fortune, alwaies in his courage of the highest ranke, in direction a great Captaine, in execution a brave souldier, in his hatred

tered to the Romans another *Hannibal*, having possessed himselfe of Asia, and cut the throats of all the Romans that were in it, whom in one day and houre, by his letters to the Cities, with infinite promises of rewards, he had procured to bee massacred. At that time there was not any who either in faithfulness toward the Romans, or in valour against *Mithridates* did parallell the Rhodians. Their fidelitie was by the perfidiousnesse of them of Mytelene, rendered the more illustrious, who delivered to *Mithridates* bound and captive *Marcus Aquilinus*, and other Romans with him: although afterwards they were by *Pompey* restored to their liberty, onely in favour of *Theophanes*. When *Mithridates* did seeme in a fearefull manner to

threaten Italy : Asia by the lots fell to *Sylla* for his Province. Hee being gone out of the Citie when hee staid before Nola, (for that Citie did most obstinately continue in armes, & was then beleagured with the Roman forces, as if it had beene sorry for the faithfulness which above all other (Subjects or confederates) it had most religiously observed in the Punique warre) *Publius Sulpitius* Tribune of the people, a man eloquent, eager, by his wealth, favour, friendships, and the vigour of his wits and spirit, made most eminent, having with all secrecie of his intentions procured himselfe a vaste authoritie with the Common people : As if he were growne to be weary of his vertues, and that his well laid designs were unsuccessfull

cessfull to him : upon a suddaine becomming ill disposed & headily rash, decreed all commands, all provinces to *Caius Marius*, who greedily affected them after hee was seventy yeares old : and preferred a law to the people, by which the command of *Sylla* should be abrogated, the warre of *Mithridates* decreed to *Marius*, with other pernicious and balefull lawes not to be endured in a free Common wealth. And besides, by certaine assassines of his owne faction, he caused to bee murdered, the son of *Quintus Pompeius*, then Consull ; who also was sonne in law to *Sylla*.

## CHAP. 19.

*Sylla his returne to Rome from Nola, and expelling the opposite faction: Marius his danger at Minturne, and Sulpitius his death.*

**S**ylla then drawing his army together returned to the Citie, and by force possessed himselfe thereof, threw out of it the twelve authors of those mischievous novelties, in which number were comprehended *Marius* with his sonne, and *Publius Sulpitius*, and by a law which then was passed, did condemne them to banishment. As for *Sulpitius* the horsemen that overtooke him in the fennes of *Laurentino* slew him, and his head being set up to shew over the pleading place, was as a presaging

presaging Omen of the proscription that ensued. *Marius* also after his sixth Consulship, and in the seventieth yeare of his age, was with a leather thong cast about his necke, dragged naked, and covered all over with myre out of a plot of reeds about the Marsh of *Murica*, in which, flying from *Sylla* his Cavallery which pursued him, he had hidden himself, by the command of the *Decemvirs* to the common prison of *Minturne*; to make an end of whom, when a common slave of the Towne, by birth a German, who by chance was taken in the Cymbrian warre where *Marius* commanded in chiefe, was sent with a sword: he as soone as hee knew *Marius*, with a hideous out-cry, discovering his indignatiō at the hard fortune of so great a personage,

sonage, casting away his sword, runne out of the prison. The Townesmen then being by an enemy taught to have compassion upon one that but a little before was a man of highest eminence, having furnished him with provision, put him aboard a ship, and dismissed him in safety. But hee having met with his son about Ænaria, stood for Africa: and in a shed among the ruines of Carthage, passed for a time a life full of necessity: while *Marius* beholding Carthage, and it on the other side holding him, one of them might in a sort serve for a comfort to the other.

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C H A P.

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C H A P. 20.

*Pompey the Consull slaine by the souldiers. Cinna for his seditions devices, deposed from his Consulls place, his recalling Marius out of exile.*

**T**His yeare was the first that ever the Roman souldiers embrewed their hand in the blood of a Consull: for *Pompey Syllus* colleague was by the army of *Cneus Pompeius*, slaine in a mutinie, but whereof the Commander himselfe was the Author. Neither was *Cinna* of better temper than *Marius* or *Snipitius*, so that whereas the freedome of the City was so granted to the Italians, that the newly incorporate Citizens should bee distributed into eight tribes, lest by their power and multitude

tude, the dignitie of the antient Citizens should bee abased, and they to whom the courtesie was done, have more Authoritie than the conferrers thereof. *Cinna* promised that he would divide them among all the Tribes, with the same of which benefit he drew a mightie number of them into the Citie. Out of which being forced by the power of his fellow in office, and of the chiefe Citizens, when hee bent himselfe for Campania by the authoritie of Senate, hee was deprived of his Consulship, and in his place was subrogated *Lucius Cornelius Merula*, the high priest of *Jupiter*. This injurie was better suited to the person of the man, than fit to serve for a president. *Cinna* then having first corrupted the chiefe Centurions and Tribunes, and within

within a while the souldiers also with hope of a donative, was received by the army which lay about Nola. And when they had all sworne obedience to him, hee retaining the markes and ensignes of the Consulship, declared warre against his countrie: relying upon the multitude of the new Citizens, of whom he had enrolled more than three hundred Cohorts, and had filled up about thirtie legions. Yet did that side stand in need of authoritie and favour: to give it that addition, he recalled out of banishment *Caius Marius* with his sonne, and those which were driven into exile with them.

## CHAP. 21.

*The battaile fought neere Rome,  
betweene Cinna and Pompey,  
Father to the great Pompey,  
who after dyed of the plague.*

**B**Vt while Cinna makes war  
upon his Countrey *Ciculus*  
*Pompeius*, father to Pompey the  
great (of whose noble endeavours  
as wee have before delivered,  
the Republique had made good  
use in the Marrian warre, and  
especially about the Countrey  
of *Picennam*, and who had taken  
Asculum, about which Towne,  
when the Armies were disper-  
sed in diverse other Countries,  
seventie and five thousand Ro-  
man Citizens, and more then  
threescore thousand Italians  
fought in one day) being hope-  
lesse of holding the Consulship  
any

any longer, did so doubtfully  
and indifferently cary himselfe  
betweene the factions, that he  
seemed to direct all his actions  
to his owne ends, and to lye in  
wait for the time, wavering to  
and fro, as ready when the fairer  
hope of power and greatnesse,  
presented it selfe, to render both  
himselfe and his army. Yet at the  
last, in a greate and a sharpe bat-  
taile he encountred with *Cinna*.  
The issue whereof being fought  
and determined under the very  
walles, and the Allyes of the Ro-  
mans both fighting in it, and be-  
ing also spectators thereof: how  
mitchievously balefull it was, can  
scarce be expressed in words. Af-  
ter this when the pestilence ra-  
ged in both the Armies as if the  
sword had not sufficiently wa-  
ited the, *Ciculus Pompeius* depar-  
ed this life. The reioycing for  
whose

whose death was almost a counterpoize for the losse of so many Citizens, as either the sword or sicknesse had deprived of life, and the people of Rome upon his dead body vented the ill will which they ought him in his life. Whether there were two or three families of the *Pompeii* or no, certaine it is that the first of that name *Quintus Pompeius* was Consull with *Cnaeus Servilius*, about one hundred sixtie eight yeares since. *Cinna* and *Marius* not without bloody skirmishes on both sides, recovered the Citie. But *Cinna* entering first, passed a law for the recalling of *Marius* from exile.

## CHAP.

## CHAP. 22.

*Marius his returne to Rome: the first proscription.*

PResently *Marius* also to the common plague of his Countrymen came into the towne. Nothing could have beene more bloody then that victory: if that of *Sylla* had not followed it. Neither did they rage with an unrestrained licentiousnesse, but the noblest and most eminent men of the Citie, were with sundrey kindes of death removed out of the way. Amongst them the Consul *Octavius*, a man of a most harmelesse disposition by the command of *Cinna* was put to the sword. But *Merula* who upon the comming of *Cinna* had disclaimed the Consulship, cutting his veines, and sprinkling the

the alter with his blood, did call  
upon the same Gods whom he  
oft had, as high Priest to *Jupiter*  
invoked for the welfare of the  
Republique, with curses for *Cicero*  
*na* and his faction, and in that sort  
rendred up his spirit, which had  
so superabundantly deserved  
well of the common wealth.  
*Marcus Antonius* a man most  
minent, both for his ranke in the  
Citie, and for eloquence, was by  
the swords of the souldiers  
whom for a time he had with  
the daintinesse of his Oratory  
caused to pause upon the com-  
mand of *Marius* and *Cinna*, cru-  
elly slaughtered. *Quintus Cati-*  
*lus* who both for his other vir-  
tues and by the glory of the  
*Cymbrian* warre, wherein he was  
an equall sharer with *Marius*  
was of highest repute; when he  
was hunted for to bee put to  
death

death, shut himselfe up in a place  
tely pergetted with lime and  
and; & causing fire to be brought  
into it to give the more force to  
the favour of drawing an aire  
 Pernicious and deadly, and with-  
out suffocating his owne breath,  
died rather as his enemies wi-  
shed, then as they intended. Thus  
all things in the Republique, ran  
headlong course of mischief:  
and yet did not any man declare  
himselfe that he had the daring  
to give away the goods of a  
Citizen of Rome to another,  
or any that was so affronted as  
demand them. That also after-  
ward was added, that Avarice  
became the motive of cruelty:  
and the proportion of the fault  
was rated according to the  
worth of the estate: so as he that  
was rich was held a guilty per-  
son, and every man was made  
the

the price of his owne danger  
Neither did any thing seeme  
base, so as it were gainefull.

CHAP. 23.

Marius his seaventh Consulship  
and death, Sylla his acts  
gainst Mithridates: his resolu-  
tion against the Marians, but  
after the forraine enemies nayes  
were pared.

**C**inna then entred his second  
Consulship, and Marius his  
seventh, to the disgrace of his  
former ones; in the beginning  
whereof, falling into a sickness  
he deceased: a man in the warre  
as superlatively bitter to the ene-  
my, as in peace to his Country-  
men, and of quiet most im-  
patient. In his roome was suc-  
ceeded Valerius Flaccus, the

nor of a most base and unjust  
law: that Creditors should be  
paid but the fourth part of their  
debt. Of which his fact within

two yeares hee received  
the reward which hee had  
well deserved. While Cinna  
did thus dominiere in Italy,  
the greater part of the Nobili-  
ties fled to Sylla in Achaia, and  
from thence into Asia. In the  
mean time, Sylla did in such sort  
encounter with the Generall im-

posed by Mithridates against  
him about Athens in Bœotia  
and Macedonia, as he both re-  
covered Athens, and having be-  
sieged much labour about the  
verall fortifications, which  
they had made upon the port of  
Piræus, he put to the sword about  
two hundred thousand men, and  
tooke prisoners not many fewer  
than any man shal impute this time  
of

of rebellion to the Athenians he is certainly ignorant both of the truth and all antiquitie. For the fidelitie of the Athenians to the state of Rome was still so inviolate, that alwaies and in every occasion whatsoever was performed with all sincerity and integrity, they used to say it was done with an Atticke faithfulness. But at that time being oppressed with the force of *Mitbridates* his armes, they in a most wretched estate being subject to their enemies, held under with their garrisons, and beseiged by their friends, had their hearts without the Rampires, and their bodies within the walles, obeying the necessitie which they could not avoid. From thence *Sylla* passing over into Asia, found *Mitbridates* an humble suppliant and obedient to all his commands.

commands. Vpon whom imposing a fine of money, and part of his ships, he contrained him to quit Asia, and those Provinces which by force he had seized upon: he received backe from him all those which were prisoners, did justice upon fugitives and offenders, and enjoyned him to be content with his estate descended to him from his Fathers, that is, with the Kingdome of *Pontus*.

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CHAP.

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## CHAP. 24.

*Fimbria his boldnesse, and end :  
Lænas the Tribune executes  
Lucilius the last yeares tri-  
bune, & banisheth the rest of Syl-  
la his party.*

**C***Aius Flavins Fimbria* who being Generall of the horse before *Sylla* his coming, had slain *Valerius Flaccus* a man of Consular qualitie, and possessing himselfe of his army, and saluted by the title of Generall, had as it hapned in a battaile routed *Mithridates* : Vpon *Sylla* his passing over, slew himselfe. A young man he was who what he most unlawfully durst attempt did with courage put in execution. The same yeare, *Publius Lænas*, Tribune of the people, did throw downe from the *Tarpeian* rocke *Sextus Lucilius* who had beene Tribune of the people

ple, the yeare before : and when his fellowes in office, whom he had cited and appointed a day for their tryall, did for feare flie to *Sylla* : he by proclamation declared them Rebels, forbidding them the use of fire and water. *Sylla*, then having settled the affaires beyond the Sea, when to him first of any Roman, the Embassadors of the Parthians had presented themselves : and among them certaine of their soothsayes, had upon observation of some markes in his body, foretold that he should passe a most glorious life, and that the memorie of him should be long lived, returning into Italy, he at *Brundisium* landed with only thirtie thousand men against forces of his enimies, consisting of above two hundred thousand. Hardly can I esteeme any action

of *Sylla* more noble then that when the faction of *Cinna* and *Marinus* tyrannized over al Italy, he neither forbare to declare, that he would make warre upon them, nor yet quitted the business that he had in hand : And thought that the publique enemy of the State was first to be repress, before he thought of private revenge : and that when the feare of a forraigne force was removed, and he had mastered his enemy abroad, hee would also take order with those at home. Before coming of *Lucius Sylla* in a mutiny of the Army, *Cinna* was by them slaine ; A man better meriting to have beene executed at the pleasure of the Conqueror, then slaughtered by the rage of the souldier, of whom it may be truly said : that he dared give  
 attempt

attempt upon those things which no honest man ever durst thinke ; and effected that which was not to be done by any, but those that were of the most dauntlesse courage : and that in consultation and advice, he was headily rash ; in execution, a gallant man. *Carbo* having no colleague subrogated in *Cinna's* place, was, for the rest of the whole yeare the sole Consul.

## CHAP. 35.

*Sylla his returne into Italy : the  
overshrow of Scipio and Nor-  
banus neare Capua. Sylla after  
the victory, not like Sylla before  
it.*

**T** Hou wouldest have thought  
that *Sylla* had not come into  
Italy to make a part in the war :  
but to negotiate for and procure  
a peace. With such quietnesse and  
so great care of the provisions  
and fruits of the earth, of the  
countrie, the people, and the  
Townes, did he lead his army  
through all Calabria and Apulia,  
into Campania: and did seeke to  
end the warre with just, and e-  
quall conditions. But they whole  
greedy desires were both ex-  
treamly wicked and unbounded,  
could not away with peace. In  
the meane time *Sylla* his army  
did dayly increase, every one  
that

that was of the honestest sort,  
and the most discreet flocking  
to him. After that not farre from  
Capua he prosperously defeated  
*Scipio* and *Norbanus* the Consuls,  
of whom *Norbanus* was over-  
throwne in fight. *Scipio* forsaken  
by his army and betrayed by  
them, was by *Sylla* dismiss un-  
toucht. So unlike was *Sylla* the  
souldier to *Sylla* the Conqueror,  
that while he overcomes he  
was more mild then the gentlest  
spirit : after the victory, more  
cruell then can bee spoken. For  
both when hee was Consul,  
as wee have already told,  
he dismiss in safety *Quintus Ser-  
torius*, onely disarming him ; a  
firebrand soone after, (of oh how  
great a warre) with many others  
whom he had in his power : I  
think that in the same man there  
might be scene an instance of a

mind double, and most different from it selfe. After the victory, in the descent from the mountaine Tifata, where *Sylla* had encountered with *Caius Norbanus*, he rendred thanks to *Diana*, to whose Deity all that country is consecrated: & also dedicated to the goddess, the Bathes for their virtue in curing diseases very famous, with all the fieldes about them: of which his gratefull devotion the brazen table fixed up on a post of the temple, with the inscriptiō therof doth to this day beare witnesse and keep the memory in being.

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CHAP.

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CHAP. 26.

*Carbo, and Marius the sonne, Consuls: Marius beaten at Sacriportum by Sylla, and besieged in Preneste, Murders in Rome, & the brave death of Calphurnia.*

**I**N the meane while, the Consuls for the time being, *Carbo* the third time, and *Caius Marius* sonne to him that was seven times Consul, who then was six and twenty yeares old, and one rather of his fathers courage, then fitted for that age, having, & that bravely made many attempts, being at last beaten by *Sylla* about *Sacriportum*, retyred with his army to *Preneste*, which being by nature fortified, he had before strengthened with a garrison. When, lest there should be any

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thing wanting to the publique calamities; In that Citie where the .cupulation was alwayes wont to be about vertuous actions, the contention was now on-ly for the height of mitchiefe: & he thought himself the best man, who did most transcend in vil-lany. For while they were in armes, and disputing the fortune of the warres at Sacriportum, Damasippus the Prætor in the market place of *Hostilius* did cause to be murdered, as favo-rers of *Sylla* his faction, *Domiti-us Scaevola*, who also was the so-veraigne Bishop, and a most fa-mous sage of all lawes both de-vine and humane: together with *Caius Carbo* of the Prætorian ranke, and brother to the Con-sull, and *Anicetus* who had binne *Ædile*. Nor let *Calpurnia* the daughter of *Bastia* and wife of *Anicetus*

*Anicetus*, lose the glory of her most noble resolution; who when her husband, as wee have related, was slaine with a sword, ranne her selfe thorow: how great an addition to her fame and glory; her vertue makes her eminent, her countrey is unknowne.

## CHAP. 27.

*Pontius Telesinus the Samnite, his brave and endangering Sylla in fight at the gates of Rome: Menius seeking to escape under ground from Preneste, surprized and slaine.*

**B**UT *Pontius Telesinus*, Cap-taine of the Samnites, one both at home and in the warres of an invincible spirit, and of the Roman name, a most irre-concilable

concileable enemy : having gathered together about fortie thousand of the bravest and the most eager of warres, that were to be found among the youth of his nation. When *Carbo* and *Marinus* were Consults about fortie yeares since, upon the Kalends of November, did so rudely encounter with *Sylla* before the gate *Collina*, as hee brought both him and the Common wealth into the extremitie of danger : which was not in greater hazard when *Hannibal* his tents were pitched within three miles of the walles, than that day when *Telefinus* flying about the ranks of his army, & proclaiming that the Romans last day was come ; cried out that the Citie must bee destroyed and raised ; adding thereunto, that those Wolves, the ruiners of the libertie.

bertie of Italy, would never faile to bee troublesome, except the wood in which they used to harbour, were stubbed up by the roots. At length above an houre within night, both the Romans army gat some time to breathe, and the enemy fell off; *Telefinus* was found the next day halfe alive, and with a speech rather of a conquering, than a dying man, whose head being cut from his shoulders, *Sylla* commanded to be carried about the walles of *Preneste*. Then at length the younger *Cains Marinus* despairing of the successe of his affaires, attempting to escape by certain Mines which with wonderfull Art being cut under ground, did open themselves into severall fields, when now he had gotten out of the earth, was by some that were set there for that worke.

worke, deprived of life. There are some that report, hee dyed by his owne hand : some that say, that he and his younger brother *Telefinus* beleagured, and attempting to escape with him, finding themselves past all hope, engaged ranne together, and with interchanged woundes, dispatched one another. How ever hee dyed, and that to this day, his memory is nothing obscured by so great glory of his father : in what repute *Sylla* did hold that young man, it is easily to bee discerned in this ; that when he was slaine, he assumed the name of fortunate, which indeed hee should have withall justice taken upon him, if his victory and his life had ended together. *Offellus Laccetus* commanded in chiefe at the siege of *Marinus* and *Praneste*, who ha-

ving

ving beene before of the *Marian* faction when hee was *Prætor*, fled over to *Sylla*. The fortune of that day in which the army of the *Sannites*, and *Telefinus* was mated, *Sylla* did honour with a perpetuall memoriall of plaies in the *Circus*, in which without naming it, the victory of *Sylla* is glorified.

#### CHAP. 28.

*Divers battles fought and wonne by Sylla his Captaines, the Servilij, Metellus and Lucullus : the second proscription.*

A little before that *Sylla* fought at *Sactiportum*, divers Commanders of his partie had in brave and important encounters, routed severall armies of the enemies. As the two *Servilij*

*vidij* at Clusium, *Metellus Pius* at Faventia, and *Marcus Lucullus* at Fidentia. The miseries of the civill warre did seeme to be ended, when by the crueltie of *Sylla*, they were both renewed and augmented: for hee being created Dictator (the assuming of which honor by any man had now by the space of one hundred and twentie yeares beene intermitted, ever since the next yeare after *Hannibal* his quitting of Italy, so as it seemed the people of Rome did not so much desire to make use of the Dictatorship, as they stood in feare of the power of so absolute a command which their Ancestors had employed to relieve and settle the State in the greatest exigent) did abuse it with a licentious and unbounded crueltie. He was the first (and would to God

God he had beene the last) that invented and raised a president for proscriptions. That in that Citie, in which an overworne stage-player was censured for lawcie abusing of others, in the same there should bee an authorising from the State of the massacring of a subject, and hee thrive best, who had slaine most men, nor the reward for killing an enemy be more full and bounteous, than for murthuring a Citizen; and every man bee made the pay-master of his owne hangman. Neither was this rage bent onely against those who had borne armes against him: but many innocent men also fell under it. To which was added, that the goods of those that were proscribed, were set to sale, and their children being disinherited, were also.

also barr'd and excluded from standing for any honors or offices in the State : and withall, which was of all the most unworthie peece, the sonnes of Senators, must beare the burthens of that order, and yet lose the rights thereof.

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CHAP. 29.

*Cnaeus Pompeius his bringing an army to Sylla : His character and the esteem he held with his enemy.*

**V**PON the coming of *Lucius Sylla* into Italy, *Cnaeus Pompeius*, the sonne of that *Pompey*, of whose most glorious exploits in his Consulship in the *Marsian warre*, wee have before made relation, being three and twentie yeares old, about one hundred

yeares

yeares since, undertaking with the meanes of a private fortune, great matters, and gallantly putting in a tion what hee had so projected ; to vindicate and restore the honour of his countrey, did raise a full and just armie in the *Picene* territorie, which was in every place stuffed with the followers and dependants of his father, whose greatnesse would, to describe it fully, require many volumes, but the proportion of the work I have in hand compells mee to deliver it in few words. His mother was called *Lucilia*, descended of a race of the degree of the Senate, for his shape it was of the best, not such as in lovely youths is counted for dainty, but for the gracefulnesse and Majestie fited to such a height of greatnesse which did so attend upon his fortunes

to

to the last period of his life. Of authority and power (that it might for his honour be tendred to him, not seised upon by him) hee was most eagerly desirous. In warre a most able Captaine, in peace a Citizen, (except where hee stood in feare of a concurrent equall) full of all modesty, of his friends a most constant observer; offended, hee was not hard to bee entreated; once reconciled, hee most faithfully kept his word; in receiving satisfaction, no man so easie. His power he never or seldom abused, to commit any insolence: hee scarce was discerned to wish any thing, except it should be counted among the highest of his aimes, that hee thought some in a free Citie, and Lady of so many Nations, where by right all men were of his

his owne ranke, to see any one his equall in honour. Hee from the time that hee came to mans estate, being trained up in service under his father, a most able Captaine, did so enforme his judgement, which of it selfe was cleere & capable of knowledge, with an excellent understanding of the Arts of warre, that by *Sertorius*, *Metellus* was indeed more commended, but *Pompey* more cordially redoubted.

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CHAP.

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## CHAP. 30.

*Sertorius betrayed at supper by  
Perperna and slain: Metellus  
and Pompeius their triumph,  
before Pompeius was a Senator.  
The warres with the slaves, and  
Spartacus their Captaine.*

**I**N the end *Marcus Perperna*, a  
man of Prætorian qualitie, and  
of the proscribed, by his race  
and descent more noble than his  
disposition, at *Exosca* murder-  
ed *Sertorius*, when they were at  
supper, and by that his basest  
treachery, procured to the rest  
of the people of Rome an assur-  
ed victory, to his owne particu-  
lar ruinous destruction, and to him-  
selfe a most ignominious death.  
*Metellus* then and *Pompey* trium-  
phed for their conquest of both  
the Spaines. But *Pompey* in  
this same triumph being as yet  
but

but a Knight of Rome, before the  
time that he was, or might bee  
elected Consull. entred the City  
in a triumphall Chariot: who  
can forbear to wonder at this  
man? that being by extraor-  
dinarie commands, raised to the  
highest type of honour, did yet  
with impatience brooke the Se-  
nate and people of Rome their  
shewing that they tooke into  
their consideration, and had re-  
gard to *Caius Cesar* when hee  
pretended to a second Consul-  
ship. So familiar it is with men  
to allow any thing to them-  
selves, but excuse nothing in o-  
thers, and to bend their envie  
red by occasions, not as the  
cause, but as their humour and  
the persons direct them. In  
his Consulship did *Pompey* re-  
store the power of the Tri-  
bunes, whereof *Sylla* had onely  
left

left the shadow or image in use. While the warre of *Sertorius* was on foote, fixtie foure fugitive slaves breaking out of a fencing schoole, where they were kept at Capua, led by *Spartacus*, and getting swords in the Citie, at the first withdrew themselves to Mount Vesuvius, and presently their multitude daily iaccreasing, with various and grievous calamities they afflicted all Italy, whose number did grow to such an excesse, as in the last battaile that they fought, they opposed the Roman army with forty thousand armed men. The glory of ending this warre, was due to *Marcus Crassus*, who was ere long a principall man among the Romans.

CHAP

## CHAP. 31.

*The piraticall warre with amplest auctoritie committed to Pompey, though against the will of the Nobility.*

**N**OW had the quality of *Pompey* turned the eyes of the world upon him, and hee was in every place and respect, the more fixedly regarded, when being Consull, he had solemnely sworn that his time being expired, hee would not accept of, or seeke the government of any Province, and had kept his oath. Two yeares after, *Albius Gabinus* the Tribune preferred a law that since the Pirates did now in the manner of a just warre, not of theverie and surprizing attempts, with whole navies affright the world, and had also sacked

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sacked

sacked certaine Cities in Italy :  
 that, I say, *Cnaeus Pompey* should  
 be employed to repress them :  
 and that his command should  
 extend thorow all the Provin-  
 ces of equall power with the  
 Proconsuls, and every way fiftie  
 miles from the sea side ; by  
 which decree of the Senate, the  
 Empire of almost the whole  
 world was conferr'd upon one  
 man. Yet was the same also de-  
 creed two yeares before in the  
 Prætorship of *Markus Antonius*.  
 But sometimes the consideration  
 of the person, as by president  
 doth mischiefe, so it either aug-  
 ments or lessens the envie that  
 borne them : for seldome are the  
 honours envied of such men  
 whose power is not redoubted,  
 and on the contrary, men do  
 stand in feare of extraordinarie  
 greatnesse in those whom they

suppos

suppose likely either to quit or  
 retaine them at their pleasures,  
 and to have no limits or termes  
 set them but by heire owne will.  
 This determination was oppo-  
 sed by the prime of the Nobil-  
 itie : but their prudent advice  
 was over-ruled and mastered by  
 the violence of others. The e-  
 steeme of *Quintus Cæcilius*, and  
 his modestie also are worthe  
 of memorie, who when, in op-  
 posing of this law, hee had said  
 in the assemblie, that *Cnaeus Pom-  
 peius* was indeed a very excel-  
 lent man, but yet in a free Re-  
 publique, neither all, nor yet too  
 much was to be committed to  
 the hand of any one man, & then  
 added ; But if any thing disa-  
 stersous betide him : whom have  
 you to substitute in his roome ?  
 the whole assemblie cried out,  
 Thy selfe *Quintus Cæcilius* : He  
 then

then vanquished by the uniforme consent of them all, and so honourable a testification of the whole Citie concerning himselfe, departed out of the assemblie. Let mee heere admire both the honestie of the man, and the equitie of the people. Him, that hee would not any further contend, and of their part, that though dissuading and declaring himselfe adverse to their desires, they yet would not defraud him of the attestation iustly due to him.

## CHAP. 32.

*That warre in short time ended, and the seas cleared of Pyrates, who were planted in a Colonie withinland.*

**A**Bout the same time *Cotta* did equally divide the power of judging betweene the two

two orders of the Senate and Knights; which *Caius Gracchus* having bereft the Senate of, had transferred to the Knights, and *Sylla* had after restored to them. And *Oto Roscius* also by a law of his propounding, rendred againe to the Knights their places in the Theater. But *Cnaeus Pompeius* having taken with him to assist him in that warre, many and worthie men, and appointed guards of ships for all the bayes and sea coasts, in a short time with an invincible power did free the world of feare. And having in many encounters and divers places beaten the Pyrates: at length falling upon them about Cilicia with his whole fleet, and totally routing them, that hee might with the more celeritie make an end of the warre, so dilated over the earth,

hee recollecting the remnants of them, settled them in Cities, apart remoted from the Sea upon certaine habitations. There are that carpe at this act of his: but though such an Author bee reason enough for the fact, yet reason it selfe doth make any author of great authoritie. For giving them meanes to live without rapine, hee shut them up farre from Sea, so barring them from that way of spoyleing others.

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CHAP.

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## CHAP. 33.

*Manlius Tribune of the people, prefers a law to commit the warre of Mithridates to Pompey, taking it from Lucullus', who had done great things in it: Lucullus his character, comparative with the disposition of Pompey.*

**W**Hen the Pyratall warre was upon the point of concluding, and *Lucius Lucullus* (who seven yeares before in his Consulship, had by lot Asia assigned unto him as his province, and had there performed both great and memorable services, had often in many places routed *Mithridates*, had with a glorious victorie freed Cizicu from siege, and had overthrowne in Armenia *Tigranes* the greatest King of those Pyrates, and

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rather would not, then was unable to give the last blow to that warre, hee (who in all other respects was worthie of praise, and in warre invincible) was yet vanquished with the love of money) did still command in that warre. *Manilius* then Tribune of the people, a man alwaies mercenarie, and a busie advancer of the power of another, preferred a law, that the warre with *Mithridates* should bee committed to *Cneus Pompeius*. The bill did passe, and thereupon was there great and bitter brawling betweene the Generalls, while *Pompey* objected to *Lucullus* his base love of gaine, and *Lucullus* to him his unlimited desire of command, and neither of them in that which hee imputed to the other, could bee charged with belying him: For neither did

did *Pompey* after hee once had put his hand to the affaires of state in his minde, ever brooke any equall, and in those things in which by due right, he should have bene the prime, he desired to bee the sole man. Nor did ever any man lesse cover all other things, or more greedily glory than he. In seeking honors without moderation, in injoying and using them most modest: as who whereas hee most desirously entered them, did yet with an equall temper lay them downe, and what hee desired to assume at his owne pleasure, was content to devest himselfe of it at the wil of another. *Lucullus* on the other side, a man in all other regard of highest excellencies, was the first beginner of the excessive riot of our times in building, feasts and furniture of houses:

H.

who.

whom for his forcing out the sea in some places, by masses of earth throwne into it, and letting it into other by undermining of mountaines, *Pompey* the great did not without a smartnesse of wit, use to call the gowned *Xerxes*.

#### CHAP. 34.

*Creet conquered and made a Province by Metellus: The Temple of Ianus shut the second time, which was done but thrice in all the time of Rome: First by the King, secondly by Metellus, thirdly by Augustus. Cicero his suppressing of Catiline, his conspiracie.*

**A**Bout the same time the Isle of Creet was by *Quintus Metellus* brought under the command

mand of the people of Rome, which by the leading of *Panares* and *Lasthenes*, with twentie foure thousand young men of incredible swiftnesse, unweariable with their armes & travaile, and most excellent Archers, had for three whole yeares vexed the Romane armies. Neither from encroaching upon the glory of this man also, did *Cneus Pompeius* restraints his desires, but endeavoured to claime a part of his victorie. But for the triumphs of *Lucullus* and *Metellus* both their owne singular vertue and the envie of *Pompey* did with all the best sort of men render them the more favoured. In these times it was, that *Marcus Cicero*, who was indebted onely to himselfe for all his additions, a man of a most illustrious newnesse, and as hee was  
noble

noble in his life, so for his understanding of the greatest: whose worke it was that wee should not be inferiour to them in wit, whom with armes we had mastered: being Consull, with his singular virtue, constancie, vigilancie, and carefulnesse overthrew the conspiracie of *Sergius Catiline*, *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, & divers others of both the degrees of Senators & Knights. *Catiline* by feare of the Consulls command was forced out of the Citie, *Lentulus* of Consular qualitie, and that had beene twice Prætor, and *Cethegus* with others of noble families, by authoritie of the Senate, and direction from the Consull, were put to death in prison.

CHAP.

## CHAP. 35.

*Cicero his character: the execution of the conspirators and the death of Catiline in fight.*

**T**hat day of the Senates sitting, in which these things were acted, did render most gloriously glistering, the virtue of *Marcus Cato*, which was before in other things conspicuous and clearly shining. He being the greate grandchild of *Marcus Cato*, the head of the Portian family, was a man most like to virtue it selfe, and every way more neerely approaching in his disposition to the Gods then man: who never did just things that he might appeare so, but because he could do no other, and to whō that onely did seem reasonable which had equitie in it, and being clearly free of all humane

maine vices had alwaies fortune in his owne power. He being chosen (as yet a very youth) Tribune of the people, when others did opine that *Lentulus* and the rest of the Conspirators should be held under guard in the free townes, when, almost one of the last, his suffrage was called for, did with such power both of spirit, and wit, inveigh against the Conspiracie, that with his ardencie he rendred the opinions of those who had perswaded the way of lenitie, suspected of being privie to the plot : so laid open the dangers hanging over their heads, of the ruine and firing of the Citie and altering of the State, so magnified the vertue of the Consull, that the whole body of the Senate sided with his opinion, censured them to die whom we spak of before, and

and the major part of the order of Senators accompanied *Cato* by way of honour home to his house. But *Caesars* did no more faintly put in execution his designs of mischief when they were discovered, then he had before undertaken them ; for fighting with infinite valour He paid the life to the sword of the souldier, which was due to that of justice.

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CHAP. 36.

*The birth of August. Cæsar, in Cicero's Consulship : An enumeration of men, in that age famous for learning.*

NO meane addition of honour to the yeare of *Cicero's* Consulship, was the birth of Sacred *Augustus*, who then was borne

borne now eighty two years since with his greatnesse to obscure all men of what nation soever. It may almost seeme superfluous to reckon up the ages of the men of eminency for their wits of those dayes : for who knowes not that about that time though somewhat differing in yeares did flourish, *Cicero*, *Horatius*, and indeed *Crassus*, also *Caesar*, *Sulpicius* & within a while *Brutus*, *Calpurnius*, *Coelius*, *Calvus*, and in the next ranke to *Cicero* *Caesar*, and as a fosterchild of theirs *Corvinus* with *Asinius Pollio*, and the emulator of *Thucydides* *Salust*, and the Poets *Varro*, *Lucretius* and *Catullus* second to none in verifying of the worke which he tooke in hand. The tallying up of the names of these able wits, who are in a sort still in our eyes, is a kinde of folly, a-

mong

mong whom in our age are most eminent the prince of Poets *Virgilus* and *Rabirius* & *Livius* who succeeded to *Salust*, with *Tibullus* and *Naso* most excellent in the manner of their worke. For of men of eminency as the admiration is great so is the censure full of difficulty.

## CHAP. 27.

*Pompey his acts against Mithridates and Tigranes. Tigranes his yeelding himselfe and estate.*

WHILE these affaires are on foot in the Cittie and in Italy, *Cnaeus Pompeius* did manage the warre of a remarkable nature against *Mithridates*: who after the departure of *Lucullus*, had raised a brave body of a new army. But that King being over-

overthrowne, routed and stripped  
 out of al his meanes, retired him-  
 selfe to Armenia, and *Tigranes*  
 (his father in law) a king in that  
 time, but that he had before bin  
 shaken by *Lucullus*, of all other  
 the most puissant. *Pompey* there-  
 fore pursuing the joynly, entred  
 Armenia, and first *Tigranes* him-  
 selfe, but at odds with his fa-  
 ther, presented himselfe to *Pom-  
 pey*, and ere long he himselfe alio-  
 in person, and as a suppliant re-  
 dded himselfe and his estate, to  
 his disposure, professing that  
 there was no other, either Ro-  
 man, or of any other nation, be-  
 sides *Cnaeus Pompeius*, to whose  
 consortship he would adjoyne  
 himselfe. And therefore that  
 fortune either prosperous or ad-  
 verse which he should allot him-  
 selfe he should repute easie to be su-  
 fered. That it was not dishon-

to be conquered by him whom  
 it were a crime to overcome.  
 Neither was it inglorious to  
*Pompey* that he submitted him-  
 selfe to him whom fortune had  
 raised above all other men. The  
 royall estate was by him reser-  
 ved for the king, but for him fi-  
 ned in a mighty summe of mo-  
 ney, which *Pompey*, as he alwaies  
 used to do, did deliver into the  
 power of the *Questor*, and so  
 was it accounted for, to the pub-  
 lique *Treasurie*. *Syria* and other  
 provinces which he had seized  
 upon, being rearest him, were part  
 restored to the people of Rome,  
 part then appropriated to them, as  
*Syria*, which was then first made  
 tributary to Rome. *Armenia* was  
 appointed for the boundes of  
 the Kings Empire.

CHAP.

## CHAP. 38, 39.

A catalogue of all the Roman Provinces: when and by whom they were made so.

**I**T doth not seeme to hold any great discrepance from the rule of my intended worke, in a few words to deliver cursorily what countryes and by what Commanders mastered, have beene reduced into the forme of Provinces, and submitted to the payment of tribute, which we have noted, that the more easie of the whole together there might be a view taken in the severall parts. *Clandius* being Consul did first passe an army over into *Sicilie*, and almost fiftie yeares after *Clandius Marcellus* having taken *Siracusa* made it a Province.

Province. *Regulus* first entred *Africa* about the ninth yeare of the first Punicke warre, but two hundred and foure yeares after *Scipio Emilianus* racing of Carthage, about one hundred eightie and two yeares since reduced it to a Province: Vpon *Sardinia* betweene the first and second Punicke warre, by the conduct of *Titus Manlius* the yoke of our command was setled. A vast roote of a warlike Cittie it is, at once onely under the Kings, the second time in the Consulship of this *Titus Manlius*, and the third in the principallitie of *Publius*, the Temple of the bearded *Ianus* being shut up did shew us of an universall peace. *Spain* about the beginning of the second Punicke warre, *Cnaeus* and *Publius Scipio* led our armies about two hundred and fiftie yeares

yeares since. After that it being since. Creta by the direction of  
 with various fortune possessed *Agellus* was amerced at the ex-  
 and often by parcels, lost, by the ration of her most auncient li-  
 command of *Augustus* it was partie. *Syria* and *Pontus* remain  
 made tributarie. *Macedonia* the monuments of *Cneus Pompe-*  
*Paulus*, *Achaia* by *Mammia* his valour.  
*Etolia* by *Fulvius Nobilior* was  
 subdued, *Asia* by *Publius Scipio*  
 brother to the African, was taken He *Gaules* (first entred with  
 from *Antiochus*, but by favour an army by *Domitius Fabius*  
 of the Senate and people the nephew of *Paulus*, who was  
 Rome, being a while enjoyed called the *Allobrogian*,) with our  
 the kings of the family of *Antiochus* great losse we often both cove-  
*lus*, in the end *Marcus Perperna* and lost. But the most clear-  
 having taken *Arsistonius* prisoner, glorious workmanship of  
 ner, made it subject to Tributaries *Caesar* is to be now view-  
 The glory of having conquered in them: by whose command  
*Cyprus* is not to be ascribed and fortune they utterly broken  
 any. For by a decree of the Senate brought to almost the same  
 nate, the administration of *Caesar* at the whole world is, to con-  
 and the Kings death which tribute a dul and servile pension.  
 by the impulsion of a guilt the same manner *Servilius*  
 Conscience did procure to his enemies subjugated *Cilicia*, and  
 selfe, it became a tributarie *Publius Manlius Gallo-gracia* when  
 it

## CHAP. 39.

it had revolted after the warre with *Antiochus* Bithynia, as we have already said, was by the last testament of *Nicomedes* left an inheritance to the people of Rome. Sacred *Augustus*, besides all the Spaines and other nations with the titles of whom his market-place is adorned, reducing in almost the same fashion Egypt tributary, did bring to the Exchequer as large a revenue as his father had done from Gallia. But *Tiberius Caesar* who had inforced out of Spaine, a direct confession of their subjection, did also wring the like out of the Illyrians and Dalmatians. He also did add new provinces to our Empire *Rhætia* the *Vindicians* & the *Noricians* with *Pannonia* and the *Scordisci*. But let us returne unto our former course.

## CHAP. 40.

*Pompey his Conquests in Asia, his civill returne to Rome, and his triumph.*

In the next place succeeded the warre that *Cn. Pomp.* managed, wherein whether the glory or the labour were the greater, doth rest uncertaine. *Media*, *Albania*, and *Hiberia* were victoriously passed through, & from thence winding in his course, he turned upon those Nations which inhabit on the right hand, and the innermost part of *Pontus*, the *Colchians*, *Heniochians* with the *Achæans*. And by the fortune of *Pompey*, and the traynes of his son *Pharnaces*, in the end *Mithridates* himselfe was ruined, the last of all the Kings, of such power and absolutenetic besides the

the Parthians. And now *Pompey* conqueror of all nations that hee had reached, and greater then either himfelfe or any of his Countrey-men did wish, and in every respect prayfed beyond the condition of a mortall man, retunes into Italy: whose comming back opinion did render very gracious. For many did affirme that he would not come home, but with his army, & by that means to determine at his owne pleasure what proportion the publique libertie should hold. The more men had apprehended this feare, so much the more with honor, was the faire and civill returne of so great a Commander. For cashiering his army at *Brun-  
dium* and retaining nothing but the name of Generall with his private followers, whom it was alwaies his custome to con-

verse

verse withall (when out of business) he returned into the Citty: And there in most magnificent manner did two whole dayes together triumph of so many Kings, bringing into the treasury a farre greater masse of money of his spoyles, then any had done before him, but one *Paulus*. In the absence of *Cnaus Pompeius*, *Titus Ampius* and *Titus Labienus*, Tribunes of the people, preferred and past a law, that in the games in the Circus he should weare a crown of gold, and al his triumphall ornaments, and at the stage-playes onely the ordinary young mens gowne and a golden crowne: That yet onely once (and so much indeed was more then enough) he made use o. This mans greatnesse Fortune did raise with so vast additions, as he first tri-

I 2

umphed

umphed of Africa, the second time of Europe, and the third of Asia : and of how many parts the world doth consist, so many monuments did she make them of his glory. Never did the highest eminencies want envie. Both *Lucullus* therefore (but yet remembring the wrong done him) and *Metellus* the Cretan, not complaining without cause, (For *Pompey* had drawne from him the ornaments of his triumph, his captived Captaines) and with them part of the Noblemen did oppose, and would not give way that the rewards promised by *Pompey* either to the Cities or to well deservers, should be paid by his direction.

C H A P.

## C H A P. 41.

*Caius Cæsar his Consulship : His character.*

**T**Hen followed the consulship of *Caius Cæsar*, who, as I am writing, layes his hand upon me, & whatsoever haste I have, constraines me to pause upon him. He being extracted of the most noble Iulian family, and (which with all of greatest antiquity is held for certaine) deriving his descent from *Janchises* and *Venus* : Of person the most lovely of all the Citizens of Rome; in vivacitie of spirit, most sharpe; in bounty most profusely liberall; of courage above either the nature or the beliefe of any man; In greatnes of his designes, celerity in execution, patience in dangers, most neerely resembling  
 I 3 that

that great *Alexander* (but him sober and not transported with anger) Finally a man that used both sleepe and meat to live, and not for voluptuousnesse, when he was in bloud most neerely tyed to *Caius Marius* and also sonne in law to *Cinna*, whose daughter he could by no meanes be compelled to repudiate, at that time that *Marcus Piso* a man of Consular qualitie, had, to gaine *Sylla* his favour put away *Amia* who once had bene *Cinna's* wife, and to whom himselfe had benne married eightene yeares, when *Sylla* was master of all: the instruments of *Sylla* and the upholders of the faction rather then he himselfe seeking for his life, changing his garments, and disguising himselfe in a habit not fited to his fortune, by night slipped out of the

the City. And when afterward he being yet a very youth was taken by the Pirates, he so carried himselfe all the time that he was detayned by them, that he was of them both respected and feared; Neither did he ever in all that time, either by day or night (for why should that which is most worthy observation be omitted, if it cannot be with any flourishing phrase delivered) put off his shooes or ungirt himselfe, for this reason, lest, if he should in any thing change his fashion, he might be suspected by them who only with their eyes held a guard upon him.

## CHAP. 42.

*Cæſars taking the pirates that held him priſoner, & nailing them up-  
on the croſſe.*

**I**T would bee too long to tell how much and how often he ſhewed his daring; with how great power of his, the authority of the people of Rome, upon his motion reſuſed to ſecond the intentions of him, that then had Asia in his poſſeſſion. This one thing let me relate to ſerve for inſtance of the greatneſſe to which he was ere long to riſe. The night following that day in which he was by the common purſe of the Cities ransomed (yet ſo as he made the pirates give hoſtages to the Cities) he both being a private man, and  
doing

doing it on the ſuddaine in a diſordred manner, ſetting out a ſcete he ſayled to the place where the pirates were: and part of their Navy he forced to flye, part he ſunke, ſome ſhips & with them many priſoners he tooke. And glad of this his victory gotten, by night returned to his friendes, when clapping them in priſon whom he had taken, he went into Bithynia to the Proconſull *Iunius* (who then governed that part of Asia) deſiring that he might have power to puniſh them as they deſerved, which when he reſuſed, and ſaid that he would ſell the for ſlaves, (for a dull cowardize is ever waited on by envy) he with incredible ſpeed returning to the ſea ſide, before any letters of direction could be brought from the Proconſull, nayed upon the  
15 croſſe

crossed every one of them whom he had taken.

CHAP. 43.

*Cæsar his returne into Italy, to stand for the high place of high priest, carrying it from Catulus, reestablishing the statues of Marina, and restoring the children of such as had beene proscribed.*

**H**E also making haste into Italy to enter upon the Priesthood (for when he was absent he was by *Marius* and *Cinna* though he then was almost a child created the high Priest of *Jupiter* in the roome of *Cotta*, a man of Consular qualitie, though afterward when *Sylla* was Conqueror who made voyd all that they had done he had lost that place) that he might not be discovered

by

by the pirates (who then filled all those Seas, and were not without cause bitterly enraged against him) he went aboard a ship of foure oares, & with two friends and ten servants, crossed over the broadest part of the *Hadriatique* gulph: And when in that course he kenned, as he thought, the Pirates shippes, stripping himselfe out of his cloathes, and tying his dagger to his thigh, he prepared himself to either fortune. But within a while perceived, that his sight was mistaken, and that they were certaine trees, which in a long row appeared like the Masts of ships. The rest of his actions in the Citie, with his most noble accusation of *Deiobella*, and the favour of the people shewed him in a larger measure then is usually afforded to delinquents, and his most glorious

ous yet civill competitions with *Quintus Catulus* & other men of principall qualitie; and the carrying the question against *Quintus Catulus*, who by the confession of all men was the prime man of the Senate, in their concurrency for the place of the Sovereign Bishop, his reestablishing, when he was Edile, the Images of *Caius Marius* whie all the Nobilitie opposed it, restoring to their honors the Children of those that had bin proscribed; His Pratorship and Questorship passed in Spaine with admirable bravery and industry; when he was Questor unde *Vernus Amistius* the grandfather of this *Vernus*, a man of qualitie Consular, and high priest, father of two of the same ranke of Consul, and high priest, and as good a man as can be expected of any humane innocency

ry, these things (I say) the more they are knowne, the lesse they need my pen.

## CHAP. 44.

*The confederacie betweene Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus for establishment of their power in Rome, confirmed by alliance, Pompey marrying Cæsars daughter Iulia: Cæsars Consulship and division of lands in Campania.*

W Hile hee therefore was Consull, there was contracted betweene him, *Cneus Pompeius*, and *Marcus Crassus*, a society for the instauration of their power; which was to the City to the whole world, and though in different times no lesse to themselves ruinous and balefull.

full. This device *Pompey* was induced to pursue, to the end that at length his Constitutions made in the Provinces beyond the Seas (to which as we before have delivered, many were opposite) might bee by *Cesar* confirmed. By *Cesar* this course was taken, for that hee saw that hee should, by giving way to *Pompey* his glory, encrease his owne, and that the envie of their common greatnesse being confined to him alone, hee should fortifie his owne strength. And by *Craſſus*, that the principallitie and prime place, which otherwise alone and by himselfe he could not, he thus might hold supported by the authoritie of *Pompey*, and forces of *Cesar*. There was also an alliance agreed upon betweene *Pompey* and *Cesar*; for *Pompey* the great  
 tooke

tooke to wife the daughter of *Cains Caesar*: while he was Consul, *Cesar* passed a law, that the lands in Campania should be divided among the Plebeians. So were planted thereabout twentie thousand Citizens: and that countrie restored to their freedom about one hundred fiftie and two yeares, after that *Capua* in the *Panique* warre was by the Romans reduced into the forme of a government under a Prefect. *Bibulus* the fellow Consul to *Cesar*, while hee rather had will than power to crosse *Cesar* in his designs, did for the most part of the yeare keepe himselfe in his house: whereby thinking to augment the envie bent upon him, he encreased his power. Then were the Gallias decreed to *Cesars* government for five yeares.

## CHAP. 45.

Publius Clodius *his character and his banishment of Cicero, with his glorious repealing: Cato his bringing a vast treasure out of Cyprus.*

AT the same time *Publius Clodius*, a man nobly borne, eloquent, and bold, who neither for his words nor actions did ever know any limits, but those of his owne will, the smartest executioner of mischievous intendments, being also infamous for whoring of his sister, & accused of incest for committing of adultery in the midst of the most religiously sacred Ceremonies of the people of Rome: when there was bitter hatred between him & *Marcus Cicero* (For what friendships could there be betweene spirits so directly opposite)

posite) and had of a Patrician pretended himselfe Plebian, being created Tribune of the people, passed a law, that whosoever had killed a Roman Citizen undcondemned, should bee interdicted the use of fire and water. In which words though *Cicero* were not named, yet hee alone was levelled at: So that man who had deserved infinitely of the common wealth for preserving his country from ruine, was rewarded with the calamity of being exiled. Neither were *Cesar* and *Pompey* free from being suspected of lending their hands to the oppressing of *Cicero*. And *Cicero* himselfe did seeme to have procured it to his owne mischiefe, by refusing to be one of the twentie men appointed for the distributing the lands in Campania. Hee was within

within two yeares, by the  
 tardie care of *Pompeius* with  
 a most desired returne, to the  
 wishes of Italy, and upon a de-  
 cree of the Senate, assisted by  
 the vertue and act of *Annius*  
*Milo* Tribune of the people, re-  
 stored to his honours and his  
 countrie. Nor was there any, af-  
 ter the banishment and there-  
 peale of the Numidian, that was  
 either expelled with more ex-  
 vie, or recalled with more glad-  
 nesse; whose house being maine-  
 ciouly raised by *Clodius*, was  
 beautifully reedified by the Se-  
 nate. The same *Publius Clodius*  
 in the Senate, under the title of  
 a most honourable employment  
 sequestred *Marcus Cato* from  
 the Republique, for hee passed  
 a law, that hee should bee sen-  
 Questor with Prætorian power  
 with a Questor also under his

into Cyprus, to deprive the  
 King *Ptolemy* of his estate, who  
 by all foulness of life had well  
 merited that disgrace: But hee  
 upon the comming of *Cato* laid  
 violent hands upon himselfe:  
 whereby *Cato* return'd to Rome  
 summe of treasure, farre be-  
 yond what was hoped for,  
 whose integritie it were a crime  
 to commend: his insolence  
 might be almost blamed, for that  
 the Citie being emptied, and  
 the Senate with the Consuls  
 none to meet him, when hee  
 came up the Tiber by ship, hee  
 did not set his foot on shore till  
 he came where the mony was to  
 be lauded.

C H A P.

## CHAP. 46.

*Cæsar's acts in Gaul and Britain  
Crassus Consul with Pompey,  
pointed to the Parthian war: His  
character & defeat.*

**V**hen after these passages *Cæsar* had in Gallia performed stupèdious acts, hardly to be expressed in many volumes, and not satisfied with very many most happy victories, nor with innumerable thousands of his enemies slain & taken prisoner, had also passed his army over to Britain, seeking as it were another world to be subject to his Empire & his own, an invincible pair of Consuls *Cn. Pompeius* & *M. Crassus* entered their second Consulship, which neither was sincerely fought nor laudably ministered by them. To *Cæsar* by a law which *Pompey* preferred the people, the command of the province was prorogued for

one of the former graunt. To *Crassus* who was then in his mind plotting of the Parthian war Syria was decreed. This man in other things most upright & free from voluptuousnes, did yet neither know any mean, nor set any bound to his covetous desire of mony or glory. Him, as he was departing for Syria, the Tribuns of the people with ill boding presages labouring in vain to retaine: whose exhortations if they had bin of efficacy against his life onely, the losse of the Generall, so the army had bene safe, would have bene gaine to the Common weath. When *Crassus* had passed over the *Euphrates*, and was marching towards Seleucia, the King *Tiro* whirling about him with infinite forces of horse, slew him together with the greater part of his army. The remainder of the

the legions *Caius Crassus* who then was Questor (and not long after the author of a most execrable fact) preserved, & did in successfull attempts, twise hee entred fort keepe Syria in the power of the people of Rome, as with happy change of the event hee verthrew & routed the Parthians when they entred it with force.

#### CHAP. 47.

*Continuation of Cæsars acts in Gaule, about Alexia: In which hee and her sonne by Pompey destroyed whose life onely hindred a civil warre. Clodius slaine by Mithridates.*

**I**N those times, those which we have before spoken of, *Pompeius* & *Caius Cæsar*, departed the succeeding daies, about foure hundred thousand enemies were slaine, and more taken prisoners by *Caius Cæsar*.

hee fought oftentimes in set and orderly battaile, often in troupes, and often upon sallies and sudden attempts, twise hee entred Britanie: finally, in nine whole yeares scarce any one did passe him, wherein he did not most justly deserve a triumph. But about Alexia, he did so great things as were scarce within compasse of any mortall to dare attempt, and almost onely in the power of a God to performe them. And now had *Cæsar* beene almost seaven yeares in Gallia, when *Julia* the wife of *Pompey*, & the interposed pledge of the concord, which by the envie of *Pompey* was ill cimented betweene *Cæsar* & *Pompeius*, departed this life. And fortune removing all barres from betweene the Captaines preordained to so great a triall, within a short while

while after the little sonne of *Pompey* borne of *Iulia* also died. Then the canvassing for voyces raging with the sword and the slaughter of the Citizens, where of there was neither meane nor end to be discerned : the third Consulship was bestowed upon *Cneus Pompeius* alone, by the approbation even of those who had before used to be adverse to his honour, with the glory of which dignitie, as a testimonie of the noble mens being reconciled to him, hee was totally estranged from *Cains Caesar*. But the whole power of that his Consulship he spent in repressing the enormities of plotting and procuring voyces at elections. At that time *Publius Clodius* by *Milo* who then stood candidate for the Consulship (a president of no good use in it selfe, yet beneficial

beneficiall being done for the publique) was upon a meeting and brawles, rising betweene them slaine upon the place. *Milo* called in question for it, was condemned not more for the dislike of the fact, than because such was *Pompeies* pleasure, whom yet *Caro* by his suffrage delivered publicly did acquit, which if he had pronounced somewhat sooner, there would not have wanted those that would have followed that patterne, and have proved that a Citizen was slaine then whom there had none lived more pernicious to the Common wealth, nor more infectious to honest men.

## CHAP. 48.

*Civill warre beginning between  
Cæsar and Pompey : Peace  
treated of, hindered by Curio :  
His character.*

**T**hen within a little space of  
time, the exordiums of the  
civill warre began to kindle,  
when every one that stood most  
for the right, were of opinion  
that both Cæsar and Pompey  
should cast off their armies. For  
Pompey in his second Consu-  
lship, had procured the Spaniards  
to be appointed to him, and thus  
for three yeares space himselfe  
being from thence absent, and  
sitting at the helme of affaires  
in the Citie, might by his Liev-  
tenants Afranius and Petreus  
whereof the one had beene Con-  
sul, the other Prætor., govern

the same. And those that opined  
that Cæsar should dismiss his  
army, he sided with; but such  
as thought himselfe also should  
doe the same, he opposed: who  
it two yeares before that they  
fell to armes, hee had dyed in  
Campania, being oppressed  
with a grievous sickness, when  
hee had finished all those his in-  
crements of his Theater, and  
the other workes which hee  
made about it, (At what time  
all Italy did decree publique sup-  
plications for his recovery, and  
that the first that ever were for  
any private Citizen) Fortune  
might have saved her labour in  
reviving him, and the greatnesse  
which hee had held among the  
living, hee had carried with him  
unimpaired to the lower world.  
But neither did any other man  
furnish the civill warre, nor  
those

those so many mischiefs, which for twentie yeares together did succeed to it, with a greater or a more furious firebrand than *Caius Curio*, a Tribune of the people, a man noble, eloquent, bold, and of his owne and other mens also, both fortune and honour profusely lavish: a man most wittily wicked, and to the mischiefe of the common wealth, a dainty speaker; whose minde, pleasure and lusts, neither any wealth, nor any desires would satisfie. This man was at first for *Pompey*, that is, as it then was accounted, for the Common wealth; and presently in shew against both *Cesar* and *Pompey*, but in his heart for *Cesar*. Whether that for meere good will or for a bribe of a hundred thousand Sesterces as we have received it, wee leave uncertaine

At the last those most healthfull conditions of the then springing peace (which *Cesar* with a mind replete with all justice did require, and *Pompey* not unwillingly did admit) hee brake and scattered in peeces. *Cicero* above all things labouring and carting for the publique quiet: the order of those things as well as those that went before, is both delivered in the compleat writings of others, and shall, I hope, be expressed also in these of mine.

## CHAP. 49.

*Caecilius, two Luculli, Metellus and Hortensius; dead ere the warre: conditions of reason tendered by Cæsar, refused by the other. The warre begunne.*

**N**OW let us restore to our intended worke its owne forme; yet first let me congratulate with *Quintus Caecilius, the 2 Luculli, Metellus and Hortensius*, who when without envie they had flourished in the Common wealth, and beene eminent without danger, did exchange this life before the beginning of the civill warres, with a quiet, or at least with 'a death' not hastened before the due time. When *Lenulus* and *Marcellus* were Consuls, seven hundred and three yeares after the building  
of

of the City, and the eightie and eight yeare before thou *Marcus Vinicius* didst enter thy Consulship, the civill warre began to flame. The cause of the one Captaine did seeme the better, but that of the other the firmer. The authoritie of the Senate did put armes into *Pompey's* hand, into *Cæsar's* the confidence of his souldiers. The Consuls and the Senate did yeeld the Sovereaigne command of all to the respect of the cause, not to *Pompey's* person. Nothing was left unattempted by *Cæsar*, that might conduce to the preservation of peace, nor any thing accepted by the *Pompeians*: when one of the Consuls was more furious than reason; but *Lenulus* if the Republique were safe, could by no meanes bee preserved from ruine. And *Marcus*

*Caio* maintained that death was to be preferred before the admission of any conditions offered to the state by a private Citizen. A man indeed grave, and of the antique stamp, might more commend *Pompey's* part; but a prudent would follow that of *Cæsar*: reputing things on that side more glorious, on this more dreadful. Thus in the end all *Cæsars* requests being with some rejected, they decreed: That contented with one only legion to retain the title of the Province, hee should come a private man into the Citie, and in demanding the Consulship, submit himselfe to the suffrages of Rome.

C H A P.

## C H A P. 50.

*Pompey quits the citie and Italy: Cæsar takes Domitius at Corfinium, and dismisses him: comes to Rome, thence passes into Spaine, & masters Afranius and Petreius.*

*Cæsar* perceiving that they must come to armes, passed over Rubicon; *Cnæus Pompeius*, the Consull, the greater part of the Senate quitting the Citie, and afterward Italy, put over sea to Dyrrhachium. But *Cæsar* having in his power *Domitius*, and the legions which were with him at Corfinium, dismissing without delay their Commander, and others that had a minde to goe to *Pompey*, followed him to Brundisium; so that it appeared, that he had rather

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ther while all things stood entire and unhurt, make an end of the warre by treatie, than oppress those that fled from him. When hee found the Consuls were passed over the Sea, he returned to the City, & there in the Senate, and in a full assembly rendred an account of his intentions, and his most miserable necessitie, who was by the injurious armes of other men compelled to draw his sword. Then he resolved to goe for Spaine: but the haste of his journey, *Masilia* did a while retarde, with a faithfulness more entire than wisdom in Counsaile, unseasonably taking upon them to judge of the principall forces of the side: which they only ought to take in their hand, who have power to compel such as will not obey. The army

my then which was commanded by *Afranius* of Consular, and *Patricius* of Prætorian qualitie, being mated with his comming, his vigor and his glory rendred it selfe to him. Both the Lieutenants, and as many of every condition as would not follow them, were dismissed and sent to *Pompey*.

#### CHAP. 51.

*Caesar goes into Greece after Pompey, and besieges him in his campe. The boldnesse of Balbus in going into the enemies army. Caesar sorely shaken in one encounter.*

**T**He next yeare when *Dyrhachium*, and the countie neere about it, were possessed by *Pompey's* campe, who having sent

sent for out of all the provinces beyond the seas, the legions, the auxiliaries both of horse and foot; the forces of the Kings, the Tetrarchs, and also of the princes, had gathered together a mightie army, and held, as he supposed, the seas so guarded with his fleets, that *Caesar* could not put over his legions; *Caesar* using his owne, both celeritie and fortune removed all obstacles that were in his way, both of passing when he pleased, and that his army might be drawne downe to his fleet, and also at the first came and encamped close by *Pompey*, and within a while besieged him in his trenches, and compassed him in with his workes. Yet did the besiegers suffer more by want of necessaries than they that were besieged. Then did *Balbus Cornelius*

*ius* (with a rashnesse beyond the civillie of any man,) goe into the enemies quarter, and divers times conferre with the *Consul Lentulus*, who was in doubt what price hee should set himselfe at, and by that addition make himselfe a way, by which not as borne for his owne countrie of Spaine, but yet a Spaniard, he reached to triumph, and the high Priest-hood, and of a private man, might be raised to the place of Consular qualitie. The fortune after this of their encounters was various, but one farre more prosperous to the Pompeians, in which the soldiers of *Caesar* were shrewdly beaten.

## CHAP. 52.

*The battaile of Pharsalia deciding the question, and Cæsars cleven by 10 the vanquished.*

**T**Hen *Cæsar* with his army drew to *Theffaly* the place that was predestin'd for his victory: *Pompey* though diverse advised him to take a far differing course (of whom some perswaded him to passe over into Italy, (nor by *Hercules* could he have done any thing more beneficiall for his partie), others that he should draw the warre out a length, which by the dignitie of his side would dayly be made more advantageous for him) following the eagernes of his own mind, pursued his enemy. As for the battaile of *Pharsalia* and the most bloudy day, to the name of

Rome

Rome : the bloud that on both sides was there shed, and the two heads of the Commonwealth dashed together, the one eye of the Empire put out, so many and such men of the *Pompeian* partie as there did lose their lives this manner of writing is not capable of. That yet is to be observed, that as soon as *Cæsar* saw the *Pompeian* factio declined, he bent himself to nothing either more readily or more desirously then (that I may use both a phrase & fashion military) to cast and divide them freely into every quarter. Oh the immortall gods what a reward of this his disposition did so gentle a man receive afterward at *Brutus* his hand. Nothing was more miraculous, more magnificent, more noble then that victory, when their Country

Countrey wanted not any Citizen but those that dyed in the battaile : yet did the obstinacie of some disgrace the beautie of his clemency, when the Conquerour did now more willingly give them life thē they received it.

#### CHAP. 53.

*Pompey flying into Egypt is murdered by order of the boy, King Ptolomy, in his eight and fiftieth yeare.*

**P**ompey flying from the battaile with the two *Lentulus* who had beene Consulls, his son *Sextus* and *Favonius* of Pretorian qualitie, fortune did gather to him such comforts as the Conquerors afforded him : Of them part perswading him to retire

to the Parthians, others into Africa where he had King *Iuba* a most faithfull partisan of his ; he resolved to stand for Egypt. Remembring the favours which at Alexandria he had conferred upon the father of that *Ptolomy* who then (more a boy then a young man) there reigned : But who when hee sees a man in adversity retaines the memory of any former benefit? who doth thinke any thanks due to men in calamity ? or when fortune changeth doth not also change his faith? From the King therefore there were some sent that should receive *Cneus Pompeius* comming to him (who had a little before at Mitylene taken aboard his ship, his wife *Cornelia* for a companion to him in his flight) by the advice of *Theodotus* and *Achillas* : and perswade him

him to goe out of the ship of  
burden in which he came, into  
that in which they came to meet  
him. Which when he had done,  
the prime man of all that were  
called Romanes by the cōmand  
and direction of an Egyptian  
slave, when *Caius Caesar* & *Publius*  
*Servilius* were Consuls, was  
butchered. This was the end af-  
ter three Consulships, as many  
Triumphs, and the whole inhabi-  
table world conquered, of a  
most pious and most excellent  
man, who had beene raised to  
that pitch beyond which there  
was no further height, being then  
in the seventieth & second year,  
one onely day before his birth-  
day, in whom fortune did seeme  
so farre to differ from her selfe,  
that for him who of late wanted  
earth for him to conquer, there  
now wanted for his sepulture  
what

can I call them but over-busie  
who in the age of so great a man,  
and one almost of our own time  
have mistakē five whole yeares?  
when from the Consulship of  
*Caius Attilius* and *Quintus Ser-*  
*vilus* the account of the yeares  
was so easie to be computed,  
which I have added, not to ex-  
cept against others, but that no  
exception may be taken against  
me.

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CHAP.

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## CHAP. 54.

*Their attempting as much upon Caesar deservedly punished. The war revived in Africa by Iuba and Scipio, to whom Cato joined his forces.*

**N**either was the fidelity of the King, and those by whose direction he was governed greater toward *Caesar* then that they had shewed to *Pompey*. Who when they first had attempted upō him by treachery and after that had the boldnesse with open warre to provoke him, did with a well deserved punishment make satisfaction to both these great Commanders, whereof the one onely was surviving, *Pompey* that now was not in any place corporally, was yet every where und

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der the name of *Iuba*, for the favour of his party had raysted up a mighty warre in Africa. In which King *Iuba*, and *Scipio*, a man of Consular ranke, two yeares before *Pompey* was slaine, by him made his father in law, did command: whose forces *Marcus Cato* had much augmented, bringing with infinite difficultie both for want of necessaries and for the passages of places in the journey, his Legions to them. This man when the Command in chiefe was presented to him by the souldiers, did yet rather choose to obey him that was of more honorable qualitie.

## CHAP.

## CHAP. 53.

*Caesar follows into Africa, where before. But the warre of Curio of his party had bin slain, and there was victorious, as after with much a doe in Spain against Cnæus Pompeius the sonne of Pompey the great.*

**T**He care of keeping my credit in my promise of brevity doth put me in minde how cursorily all these passages are to be handled. *Caesar* then following his good fortune passed into Africa which the armies of the Pompeians possessed, having slain *Curio* the Generall then of the Iulian faction. At first with variable successe within a while he there also was fortunate in fight, and the enemies forces were defeated. Neither was the clemency of *Caesar* to them

that were conquered unfutable to that which he had shewen before. But the warre of Spaine of greater difficultie did entertaine *Caesar* though victorious in that of Africa, (for *Pompey* the great to be counted an addition to his glory) which mightie and full of terror *Cnæus Pompeius* sonne of *Pompey* the great, a young man, and of infinite spirit in matter of warre, had raised, aydes flocking to him on every side from all parts of the world of those that were yet still the followers of the greatnes of his fathers name. The fortunes of *Caesar* did accompany him into Spaine, yet did he never fight any battaile more cruell or fuller of danger, as when the event was more then doubtfull, he alighted from his horse, and standing firme, in the

the head of his shrinking army, having first expostulated with fortune for reserving him to such an end, he professed to his souldiers that he would not move one steppe backe, and that therefore they should consider what a General and in what place they were to abandon, and by the meanes with shame more then with courage, the fight was renewed with more bravery of the Captaine then the souldier.

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C H A P.

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C H A P. 56.

*Pompeius slaine after (Labienus and Varus in) the fight. Cesar returns to Rome, pardons all his enemies, triumphs five times, and within five months, is slaine by Brutus and Cassius.*

**C** *News Pompeius being found sore wounded in a wilde desert was there slaine: Labienus and Varus died in the fight. Cesar being absolute victor of all his enemies, returning to the Citie (which no mortal man could believe) granted a general pardon to all that had borne armes against him, and with most magnificent shewes of fencers at the sharpe, representations of Sea fights, of horse and foote, with fight of Elephants, and feasts many dayes together, did give it*  
L full

ful content. He entred in five Triumphs; the setting out of that of *Gallia* was of Lymon wood; that of *Pontus*, of Brasile; that of *Africa*, of Ivory; that of *Alexandria* of Tortoyfes; and that of *Spaine*, of Silver polished. The money brought in of the spoyles was somewhat more then six hundred Millions of Sesterces. Yet could not this man, so great, and who with so much clemency to all men had caryed himselfe in his victory, enjoy himselfe in perfect quiet, above five months. For having made his returne to the City in the month of October, in the sides of March following by conspiracie, of which *Brutus* & *Cassius* were the Authors, one of whō by promising him the Consulship, he had not obliged, and on the other side, by putting him off he had

offen-

offended *Cassius*: they having also ioyned to their designe complices in the murder, the neerest of all his friends and who by the support of his party were raised to the highest honors, *Decius Brutus*, & *Caius Trebonius*, with other men of noble qualitie, he was slaine. To whom indeed *Marcus Antonius*, a man that was most ready to dare any thing, had procured much dislike being his fellow Consull, by putting upon his head a Royall diadem, as in the Lupercalian games he sate in the pleading place, which *Caesar* refused, but so as it appeared he was not offended with it.

## CHAP. 57.

*Hirtius his advice to Caesar of  
holding by force what he had got  
by his sword rejected, and the pre-  
sages of his death despised.*

**E**Xperience makes it appeare that the advice of *Pansa* and *Hirtius* was to be commended, who alwaies had perswaded *Caesar*, that the command which by force he had obtained, he should in the same sort retaine. To whom he replying, that he had rather dye then live in feare while he expects to finde the same gentlenesse in his owne case which he had shewed to others; he was seized upon by those ingratefull men: when indeed the immortal gods had given him very many presages, and tokens of the future danger;  
for

for both the Soothsayers had forewarned him, that he should most carefully take heed of the Ides of March; and his wife *Calpurnia*, affrighted with a vision in the night, had earnestly intreated him, that day not to goe out of his house: And besides certaine writings which were delivered to him, discovering the whole plot of the conspiracy, he did not presently reade. But truly the force of the destinies is unresistable, the fortune whereof while he resolved to change, he spoiled the intendments thereof.

## CHAP. 58.

*The killers of Cæsar ingratefull,  
Dolabella gives them his sonnes  
as hostages for their safety in  
comming downe from the Capito-  
ll which they had seized.*

**T**He yeare that they execu-  
ted this horrid fact, *Brutus*  
and *Caius Cassius* were Pretors,  
*Decius Brutus* was designed  
Consull, who garded with a  
troupe of fencers belonging to  
*Decius Brutus* seized upon the  
Capitol where *Marcus Antonius*  
then being Consull (whom as  
*Cassius* opined that he should  
together with *Cæsar* be together  
slaine, and *Cæsars* last will be sup-  
prest, *Brutus* opposed it : affir-  
ming that besides the Tyrants  
(for so considering their action  
it was expedient to terme him)  
there

there was no other blood to be  
drawne) convoking the Senate,  
when now also *Dolabella*, whom  
*Cæsar* had appointed to substi-  
tute Consull in his owne place,  
had taken the Rods and ensignes  
of a Consull, as a Mediator for  
peace had delivered his child-  
ren for hostages into the Capitol,  
did give his faith to the killers of  
*Cæsar* for their safety in com-  
ming downe from the Capitoll.  
There was in imitation of that  
famous decree of the Athenians  
a proposition of a generall obli-  
vion of things past presented by  
*Cicero*, and passed with approba-  
tion of the Senate.

## CHAP. 59.

*By motion of Cicero, a law of forgetting things past is enacted, Cæsars will adopting Octavius, opened. His descent, the character of his father, and his coming to Rome.*

**A**FTER which was *Cæsars* will opened, in which he did adopt *Cains Octavius* the grandchild of his sister *Julia*. Of whose originall though others have prevented me, I yet hold it fit to say somewhat. *Cains Octavius* was, as not of a Patrician, so yet, of a family of the ranke of Knights very nobly esteemed. He being created Prætor among others of the noblest qualitie, a man grave, pious, harmelesse and rich, where in the first place that dignity had procured him in marriage

marriage. *Asia* the daughter of *Julia*, by meanes of that honor was awarded *Macedonia* for his province. And in that being stiled Imperator (or soveraigne commander) when he came backe to stand for the Consulship, departed this life. Leaving his sonne not yet a man, whom *Cains Cæsar* his great uncle, when he was brought up with *Philippus* his father in law, loved as his owne. And when he was but eightene yeares old, he comming to him, in the Spanish warre, he ever after kept in his company, never making him comrade to any but himselfe, nor to be carried in any litter but his owne, and did conferre the honour of the high priesthood upon him a Child. The civill warres then being quieted to entorne the disposition of that singular youngman,

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in the liberall sciences he sent him to *Apollonia* to study, intending ere long to have him his fellow souldiour in the warre against the Geres, and then against the Parthians. To whom when the newes was brought of the death of his Vncle, and presently the Centurions of the Legions about him made offer to him of the assistance of themselves and their souldiers, which *Salvidienus* and *Agrippa* thought was not to be slighted, he making hast to come to the City, did at *Brun-  
dusium* receive full advertisement of the whole course both of the slaughter and of the will. Whom, when he came to Rome, a vast multitude of his friends did meet him : and the globe of the sun was scene over his head, equally bent round like a bow, & of those colours as it were placing

cing a crowne upon the head of him that was shortly to be a man of such eminencie.

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CHAP. 60.

*Octavius takes upon him as Cæsars  
heire : Division betweene him  
and Marcus Antonius.*

**A** *Tia* and his father in law *Philippus* were not of the mind that he should assume the name of a fortune so envied as that of Cæsar: but approved of that of the contriver of profitable fortunes for the world, the preserver of the Romane name. But his celestiall spirit scorned humane advices, and did rather choose with danger to ayme at the highest, then with safety to reach poore things & ignoble: & was more willing to beleieve con-

concerning himselfe ; his Vncle, and *Caesar* then his stepfather : Affirming that it was a wickednesse for him to thinke himselfe unworthy of that name, wherof *Caesar* was esteemed worthy. Him did *Antonius* presently entertaine with much pride (yet was not that contempt in him, but feare) and having hardly admitted him into *Pompeys* gardens, afforded him audience. Ere long as if he had bin endangered by some treachery of his, he basely raised a slander of him, in which his vaine falsehood was shamefully discovered. In the end the madnes of *Antonius* and *Dolabella* reaching at a most impious soveraigntie, did openly breake out. Seven hundred millions of Sesterces, by *Caesar* deposited for the Temple of *Opis*, *Antonius* had seised upon : the decrees

decrees of *Caesar* charged, and false ones inserted in his corrupted *Comentaries*, And all things sold at a certaine price, while the *Consull* made open sale of the *Commonwealth*. He also resolved to possesse himselfe of *Gallia*, the province that was designed for *Decius Brutus* : and *Dolabella* had marked out for himselfe the provinces beyond the Seas. Between men that naturally had no resemblance, and desired things different, hatred began to grow, and by that the young *Caius Caesar* was ayimed at, in the dayly trecheries of *Antonius*.

CHAP.

## CHAP. 61.

Antonius his tyrannie bravely  
 prest by Octavius, who beating  
 him at Mutina, forces him  
 shamefully out of Italy.

**T**He Citie oppressed by the  
 Sovereignty of *Antonius*,  
 grew dully languishing. Indig-  
 nation and griefe all men were  
 furnished with: but with pow-  
 er to resist, not any. When *Caius*  
*Cæsar* now entred the nineteenth  
 yeare of his age, daring won-  
 ders, but attaining things be-  
 yond it, upon his owne private  
 advice, shewed greater courage  
 in the cause of the Common-  
 wealth, than the whole Senate.  
 And first from Calatia, next  
 from Casilinum drew to him his  
 fathers old souldiers, whose ex-  
 ample others having followed,

in

in short time they grew to the  
 proportion of a full army. When  
*Antonius* went to meet the ar-  
 my, which out of the Provinces  
 beyond the seas, hee had com-  
 manded to come to Brundisi-  
 um: the two legions called Mar-  
 tiall, and the fourth, knowing  
 both the pleasure of the Senate,  
 and the excellent spirit of that  
 brave young man, plucking up  
 their ensignes, went and rendred  
 themselves to *Cæsar*. The Senate  
 then honoured him with a sta-  
 tue on horsebacke, which to  
 this day standing in the pleading  
 place doth with the inscription  
 point out his age (an honour  
 that by the space of three hun-  
 dred yeares, had befallne to no  
 man besides *Lucius Sylla*, *Cnaus*  
*Pompeius* and *Caius Cæsar*) and  
 creating him Proprætor together  
 with the Consulls *Hirtius* and  
*Pansa*.

*Pansa*, appointed him to make warre upon *Antonius*. By him being now in his twentieth yeare, the businesse was most bravely managed about *Mutina*, and *Decius Brutus* who was besieged, being relieved, *Antonius* with a base flight, and naked, was compelled to quit Italy: one of the Consuls being slain, and the other within a few daies dying of his wounds.

## CHAP.

## CHAP. 62.

*The feare of Antonius being removed, the affections to the Pompeian partie declare themselves. Brutus and Cassius being fled out of Italy, have provinces and command decreed to them. Cæsars souldiers not so ingratefull to him as the Senate.*

**B**Efore *Anthony* was routed, all things honourable were by the Senate decreed for *Cæsar* and his army: *Cicero* being chiefly the author of it; but as their feares ceased, their inclination shewed it selfe, and the faction of the Pompeians recovered heart. *Brutus* and *Cassius* had the provinces decreed to them, which they before, without any order of the Senate, had seized upon: those armies whatsoever

foever which had adjoynd themselves to them were commended : and all commands in the provinces beyond the sea were committed to their disposal. For *Marcus Brutus* and *Caius Cassius*, redoubling one while the forces of *Antonius*, another pretending that they feared, to the end they might cast more envie upon him ; had by their Proclamations declared That they would bee content to live if it were in perpetuall exile, so as the Common wealth might bee settled in peace : neither would they minister occasion of a civill warre. That they had honour in abundance out of the conscience of their fact, who being departed from the City and out of Italy, with a settled and equall minde, without publicke commission, had possessed themselves

themselves of provinces and armies, and declaring that it was the Republique wheresoever they were, they had also received the treasures, which out of the Transmarine provinces was carried by the Quæstors to Rome from those that were unwilling to deliver it to them. All which things were included in the decree of the Senate, and by it approved of. And to *Decius Brutus*, because hee lived by the favour of another, was a triumph decreed : the bodies of *Hirtius* and *Pansa* were honoured with a publique funeral. Of *Cæsar* there was no mention at all, and the Embassadors that were sent to his army, were commanded to deliver their charge to the souldiers, but not in his presence. Yet was not the army so ingratefull as the Senate

Senate ; for when *Caesar* did beare dissembling that injurie, the souldiers denied that they would heare any direction in the absence of their Generall ; it was at that time that *Cicero* swayed with an inbred love of the Pompeian party, opined that *Caesar* was to bee praised and elevated, when hee spoke in one sense, and meant to bee understood in another.

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CHAP. 63.

*Antonius passing over the Alpes to Lepidus, draws his army from him, leaving him onely the title of Generall. Plancus his jugling, and Pollio his sincerity.*

**I**N the meane time *Antonius* in his flight having passed the Alpes, at first in their parties be-

ing

ing rejected by *Lepidus*, who was surreptitiously created high priest in the roome of *Caesar*, and had Spaine assigned to him for his province, but as yet carried in Gallia : ere long coming after in sight of the souldiers, when both all the Generalls were abler than *Lepidus*, and *Antonius* then many of them, so long as hee was sober, by the backe side of the Campe the rampire being throwne downe, hee was by the souldiers admitted, who in the name of the command did indeed give the precedence to *Lepidus*, when all the power was in his owne hands. When *Antonius* entred the quarter, *Inuentius Laterensis*, a man both in life and death the same, when hee had most earnestly dissuaded *Lepidus* from joyning himselfe with *Antonius*,

*Antonius*, who was declared an enemy of the state: his advice being rejected, ranne himselfe thorow with his sword. Then *Plancus* with uncertaine fidelity (that is, with his owne) having a long time disputed with himselfe, and scarce yeelding to his owne opinion, and one while an assistant of *Decius Brutus* his fellow in office, as designed Consull with him, setting also himselfe to sale by his letters to the Senate, and presently the betrayer of his Companion; and *Asinius Pollio* that stood firme to his first intentions, faithfull to the Iulian faction, averse from the Pompeian, did both of them deliver up their armies to *Marcus Antonius*.

## CHAP. 64.

*Decius Brutus one of Cæsars killers, slaine by command of Antonius: And Ciceros orations against Antonius, the cause of his being proscribed and slaine.*

**D***ecius Brutus* being first forsaken by *Plancus*, and afterwards attempted by his treacheries, his army by degrees falling off from him in his flight, and in the house of a Nobleman, with whom hee had a league of hospitality (his name *Cornelius*) by those that *Antonius* had sent for that purpose, had his throat cut: and so made a most just satisfaction, and a speedy, with his punishment to *Cains Cæsar* that had of him deserved the best offices, of whom hee was the

the murthrer when hee had beene the inwardest of all his friends, and of the fortune whereof hee had reaped the fruit, was content to transference the envie upon the author thereof; holding it just for him to retain what hee had received from *Cesar*, and that *Cesar* who gave it should bee destroyed. It was at this time that *Marcus Tullius* with continuall declamations against him, did seare into the memorie of *Antonius* eternall brands of hatred to him: yet hee with most glorious and heavenly eloquence, but the Tribune *Cannius* with a perpetuated rage did flie out upon *Antonius*: both of them with their deaths paid for their vindicating the Common liberty: but with the Tribunes blood the proscription began, with the death

death of *Cicero*, *Antonius* being then in a sort gluttoned, it ended.

## CHAP. 65.

*The instituting the Triumvirate betweene Octavius, Antonius, and Lepidus. Ventidius, who had once a Captive beene led in triumph, that yeare in Consular robes, who had beene formerly honoured with Prætorian, and afterward triumphed.*

**L**epidus was then by the Senate declared an enemy to the state, as before *Antonius* had bin. Afterwards there began an intercourse of letters betweene *Cesar*, *Antonius* and *Lepidus*: and overtures made of agreement when both *Antonius* did now and then put *Cesar* in minde  
M how

how infestious the Pompeian party was to him, to what a height it was growne, and also with how great care and industrie of *Cicero*, *Brutus* and *Cassius* were advanced: and withall professed that hee would joyne his forces with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who were now seventene legions strong, if *Caesar* did scorne his consortship; adding withall, that *Caesar* was more engaged in the revenge of his father, than himselfe of his friend. Then was there a society of their power agreed upon betweene them, and, their armies perswading and intreating it, affinity concluded betweene *Caesar* and *Antonius*, the daughter in law of *Antonius* being betrothed to *Caesar*. *Caesar* then entered his Consulship (with *Quintus Pedius* his colleague) the day before

before hee was twentie yeares old, and the tenth of the Kalends of October, seven hundred and nine yeares after the building of the City, and seventy two yeares before thou *Marcus Vinicius* wert created Consull. This yeare saw *Ventidius* in that City, into which hee once had among the captive Picentines beene led in triumph, coupling the young mans gowne with the Consular robes, and the Pratore. The same man also did here afterward triumph.

M 2

CHAP.

## CHAP 66.

*The third proscription, in which Caesar over-ruled by his two companions: the death of Cicero & his Eulogium.*

**A**ntonius then full of rage, & equally with him Lepidus, both of whom as we have said before, had beene adjudged enemies to the State, when each of them did more willingly heare what they had suffered, than what they had merited: *Caesar* opposing it, but in vaine, having two against him: the proscription, a mischief after *Sylla* his patterne, was set on foot. Not any thing was there in that time so unworthie as that either *Caesar* should bee compelled to proscribe any man, or that *Antonius* should proscribe *Cicero*: And  
by

by the villany of him (It is the common saying of the people) his head was cut off; No man protesting and keeping him safe, who for so many yeares together had defended both the publique safetie of the State, and that also of many private Citizens. Yet hast thou done nothing to purpose (*Marcus Antonius*) for indignation which my brest is not able to keepe from breaking out, doth force me to quit the forme of my intended worke; thou doest (I say) nothing to purpose, in telling out the reward for the cutting of that most cælestiall and noblest head, or with authorizing the slaughter of him, that was once the preserver of the Republique, and of a Consull so famous procuring the death. Thou hast indeed deprived *Marcus Cicero*

of the light of the sunne, which made him full of cares, shortened his old age, and bereft him of life to bee valued under thy principallitie at farre lower price than death, in thy Triumvirate. But his fame and the glory of his actions, and speeches, thou art so farre from taking from him that thou hast increased it. It lives, and shall live in the memory of all future ages. And while this body of things existent in nature, which whether by chance, or by providence, or how ever is settled, shall stand, which hee almost solely with the spirit of a Roman apprehended with his understanding, did comprehend, and with his eloquence did illuminate, it shall carry with it the praise of a Cicero, as the companion of that age: and all posteritie shall both  
admire

admire his writings against thee, as well as with execrations detest thy fact; for sooner shall mankind faile in the earth, than the glory of him, and the horror of thee.

#### CHAP. 67.

*The carriage of wives, freedmen, servants, and children towards those that were proscribed: the foulness of the proscription of their nearest friends.*

THE calamity of those times, so impossible it is for any man in words to expresse, as it is hard for any sufficiently to lament it. This yet is to be observed, that toward those which were proscribed, there was found of some wives, a singular faithfulness, in freedmen an in-  
M 4 different

different one, in slaves now and then some: but in their children none all. So troublesome to me is any delay of their hopes, howsoever conceived. And that there might be nothing sacred left, which might not serve to reward or provoke man to mischief, *Antonius* proscribed his Uncle *Lucius Caesar*, and *Lepidus* his brother *Paulus*. Neither was *Plancus* refused the favour of obtaining that his brother *Plancus Plotius* should be proscribed. From whence it was that among the jests of the souldiers, as they followed the triumphall Chariot of *Lepidus* and *Plancus*, and among the curses of the Citizens these words were used; The Consuls triumph over the Germans (*id est*, the brothers) and not of the Gaules.

## C H A P. 68.

*Marcus Calius his character, attempts, and end, with that of Milo the exile, for killing Claudius. Cæsars moderation in punishing such as had abused him.*

LET this which treats of a thing past, be referred to a proper place: neither is the person, of whom wee are to speake, fitte to be veyled in darkenesse and shadowes: while *Cesar* in the battaile of Pharsalia, and in Africa disputes with his sword, the maine of the businesse; *Marcus Calius* a man most neerely resembling *Cicero* in eloquence and boldnesse, but in either of them beyond him, and no lesse than hee wittily mischievous, when in no moderate course he could subsist, his private fortunes

tunes being much narrower than his minde, in his Prætorship made himſelfe the Author of new lawes: neither could hee by the authoritie of the Senate and the Conſulls bee deterred from his deſigne. And ſending for *Ainnus Milo* (who being reſuſed, his repeale from exile, was an enemy to the Iulian party,) ſtirred up a ſedition in the City: and not now covertly beginning a warre, was firſt ſequeſtered from all charge in the Common wealth, and not long after by the forces of the Conſulls, and by the order of the Senate, in the Thurians country was ruined. The fortune of *Milo* was ſutable to his intendments, who aſſaulting *Compsa* of the *Hirpines*, was ſtrooken with a ſtone, and ſo made ſatisfaction both to *Publius Clodius*, whom  
he

hee had ſlaine, and to his country which hee invaded. A man thou mayeſt ſay raſh beyond the name of valiant. Now to take ſomewhat of many that may bee omitted, let it yet bee obſerved that *Merulus Eſſordius* and *Flavius Caſetius* Tribune of the people, having uſed immoderate licentiousneſſe againſt *Caius Caſar*, while they charge him with aiming at the Crowne, had wel-neere felt upon themſelves the weight of the ſcepter. Yet to this heighth onely did the anger of the often provoked Prince riſe, that contenting himſelfe with a cenſoriall cenſure, rather than with a puniſhment corporall, like a Dictator, hee ſequeſtered them from their places, and the publique affaires, and profeſſed that it was to him the greateſt miſerie that either  
he

he must goe beyond the bounds of his owne nature, or suffer his honour to bee impaired. But let us returne to our course.

CHAP. 69.

*The death of Trebonius another of the killers of Cæsar, by Dolabella at Smyrna, who besieged by Cassius in Laodicea, made his servant cut off his head.*

**N**OW both had Dolabella in Asia slaine Caius Trebonius, a man of Consular ranke at Smyrna (to whom he succeeded) having over-reached him with a trick, who had beene most ingratfull to *Cæsar's* merits, by whom hee had beene raised to the degree of Consull, and yet had a share in his murther: and Caius Cassius having received from

from *Staius Marcus* and *Crispus Marcius* men of the Prætorian ranke, the brave legions which they commanded in Syria, besieged and tooke Laodicea, and therein Dolabella, who had put himselfe into it; (yet so as Dolabella did not timeously present his necke to the edge of his servants sword) and with that one draught made himselfe master of ten legions. And *Marcus Brutus* had wrung from *Caius Antonius* the brother to *Marcus Antonius* in Macedonia, and from *Vatinus* at Dyrrhachium their legions which were willing to change their Commander. But *Antonius* hee mastered by force, *Vatinus* by his reputation, *Brutus* being thought worthy to bee preferred before any other Generall whatsoever, and *Vatinus* inferiour to none that had

had a name. In whom the deformity of his body did strive for the superiority with the baseness of his minde : so as it seemed it was bestowed in a lodging of all others the most worthiest of it. Yet was he seven legions strong. Then by the law *Pedia*, which *Pedius* fellow, Consull to *Caesar* preferred, all they who were the killers of *Caesar*, the elder being condemned were interdicted the use of fire and water, at which time *Capito* my fathers brother of the Senators order, did subscribe upon *Agrippas* motion against *Cassius Cassius*.

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CHAP.

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CHAP. 70.

*Cassius takes Rhodes, Brutus conquers Lycia, they passe into Macedonia, the battaile of Philippi, where Cassius being beaten, dyes by the hand of his servant, and few dayes after, Brutus totally routed runnes upon his sword.*

**V**While these passages are on foot in Italy, *Cassius* with a sharpe and very fortunate warre had (an action of mighty import) taken Rhodes, and *Brutus* had conquered the Lycians : from whence they had passed their armies over into Macedonia: when *Cassius* in every thing running a contrary course to the nature of *Brutus*, had in the end also mastered his clemency. Neither do I finde, any upon whom

a more indulgent fortune did once attend; or whom, as if she had beene tryed, she did with more speed abandon, then *Brutus* and *Cassius*. *Cæsar* then and *Antonius*, passing their armies into Macedonia, neere the City of *Philippi*, came to fight a battaile with *Marcus Brutus* & *Cassius*. The wing that *Brutus* commanded, having beaten their opposites, did take *Cæsar's* campe; For he himselve, though extremely sicke, did yet discharge all the duties of a Generall, and was also earnestly intreated by his Physician *Artorius*, that he should not tarry in his quarter, he being frightened in his sleepe with a manifest threatening of danger toward him. The wing in which *Cassius* commanded, was on the other side forced to fall off, and shrewdly plagued, had retyred

to a higher ground. *Cassius* then by his owne fortune guesling at the successe of his comfort, when he had sent one whom he had called out, for that purpose, and commanded him to bring him word what the number & force of those men was which were comming toward him: he returning an account thereof somewhat slowly & they being now neere him, and upon their full speed, and for the dust neither their faces nor their ensignes could be discerned, beleeving that they were enemies that were rushing upon him, he wrapped his coat about his head, and fearelesse yelded his necke to his freed man. The head of *Cassius* was but fallen to the ground, when he that was sent came and brought word, that *Brutus* was Victor, who seeing  
his

his Generall lying dead, I will, said he, follow him, whom my dulnesse hath slaine, and with that fell upon his sword. A few dayes after *Brutus* fought another battaile, and in that being overthrowne, when he had fled to a knolle by night he intreated *Strato* the *Aegeatian* his neere friend to lend him a hand in his death: & lifting his left arme up to his head when he held the hilts in his right hand, he guided the point to his left pappe where the heart doth pant, and pressing on the same, with one blow ended his life.

## CHAP.

## CHAP. 71.

*Messalla and Corvinus saved by Cæsar: eminent Romanes slaine in that fight.*

Presently *Messalla* a most noble young man, and next in authority to *Brutus* and *Cassius* in that army, when there were some that did desire to choose him for their Generall, did rather make election of being preserved by the favour of *Cæsar*, then to commit himselfe any more to the hazard of armes. Neither was there in that victory to *Cæsar*, any thing more pleasing, then that he could by it save *Corvinus*, nor at any time an instance more cleare of a man gratefull and pious, then *Corvinus* was ever after to *Cæsar*. Nor was there ever any civill warre more

more polluted with the blood of men of the noblest quality. Therein dyed the sonne of *Cato*. In the same also fel *Lucullus* and *Horsensius* the sonnes of two Citizens most eminent. For *Vero* when he was amidst the sonnes of *Antonius* to be put to death, he with a free liberty did prophecy truly, and of him that which was worthy to befall him. *Drusus Livius* the father of *Julia Augusta*, and *Varius Quintilius* not so much as making tryall of the enemies courtesie, the one of them slew himselfe in his tent, and the other when he had put on the markes of his honors and offices, by the hand of his freed man whom he cōpelled to do it, had his throat cut.

CHAP.

## CHAP. 72.

*The parallel of Brutus and Cassius, Cinus Domitius with a Navy retires into Sicile to Sextus Pompeius sonne to Pompey the great.*

His end was fortune pleased to appoint to the faction of *Marcus Brutus*, when he was thirtie seven yeares old; His mind being depraved in that day which with his rashnesse of his fact, did blot out all his other vertues. As for *Cassius* he was as much a better Captaine then *Brutus*, as *Brutus* was a better man then he : of whom thou wouldest rather love *Brutus* for a friend, and more redoubt *Cassius* if thy enemy : in the one there was more violence, in the other more vertue. Who if they had

had beene Conquerours, as much  
 as it was better to have *Cesar*  
 for our Prince then *Antonius*  
 so much had it beene to have had  
*Brutus* then *Cassius*: *Gnaeus De-*  
*mitius* the father of *Lucius De-*  
*mitius* a man whom wee of late  
 have seene, and one of a most no-  
 ble and eminent sincerity, the  
 grandfather of this *Lucius De-*  
*mitius*, an excellent young man  
 being possessed of a flecte, did  
 then with a great trayne of such  
 as would follow his advice,  
 contented to make himselfe the  
 party, commit himselfe to for-  
 tune. *Staius Marcus* to whose  
 charge the Navy and the guard  
 of the Sea was entrusted, with  
 his fleet, and that part of the ar-  
 my which was under his Com-  
 mand, went over to *Sextus Pom-*  
*peius* the sonne of *Pompey* the  
 great, who returning out of  
 Spaine

Spaine had now possessed him-  
 selfe of Sicilia; & both out of Ita-  
 ly and frō divers other parts of  
 the world so many as fortune  
 had withdrawne and freed from  
 the present danger, together  
 with many who had bin pro-  
 scribed, flocked to him. To them  
 which possessed no certaine state  
 any generall was convenient e-  
 nough; and when fortune left  
 them no liberty of election, but  
 shewed them a retreat to  
 fly to, and when they sought to  
 escape from a balefull tempest,  
 any roade was a harbour for thē.

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CHAP.

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## CHAP. 73.

Sextus Pompeius *his character*  
*hee maintaines himselfe and his*  
*army in Sicily by Piracy.*

**T**His young man was in learning ignorant, in his speech barbarous, in his courage daring of body able, in his resolutions speedy, for fidelitie most unlike his father, the freedman of his freedman, and servant of his slaves, envious to those of any worth, that hee might bee subject to the basest men: whom the Senate, as then almost wholly consisting of the Pompeian faction, after *Antonius* his flight from Mutina, had recalled out of Spaine (where *Asinius Pollio* of Prætorian quality, made a very brave warre upon him) had restored him to his fathers estate

and

and given him the command of the Sea coast. He then as we before have said, having seized upon *Sicily*, did enroll in his army slaves and fugitives, and so made up a great body of legions. And by *Menes* and *Menecrates*, his fathers freedmen, whom he had made his Admiralls infesting the seas, made use of spoyling, and robberies to maintaine himselfe & his army: nor was he ashamed to make with piraticall villanies, those seas, unsafe & troublesome, which by the armes and conduct of his father, had beene cleared and freed from Pirates.

N

CHAP.

## C H A P. 74.

*Antonius after the defeat of Brutus, stays in these parts: Caesar, returning into Italy, finds it troubled by Lucius Antonius, Marcus his brother, and Fulvia, the wife of Marcus Lucius, forced in Perusia, dismish unhurt, and Perusia burnt by one of their own, who set it on fire, by name Macedonicus.*

**T**He partie of *Brutus* and *Cassius* being ruined, *Antonius* to take possession of the Provinces beyond the sea, tarried there, and *Caesar* returning into Italy found it much more troublesome then hee hoped to have done. For *Lucius Antonius* the Confull, sharer with his brother in his vices, but wanting the vertues which were sometimes found

found in him: one while with complaining of *Caesar* to the old souldiers, another provoking them to armes that had justly in the division of lands, and appointing of inhabitants to them, lost those lands which they held before, had raised a great army. On the other side, *Fulvia* the wife of *Antonius* who had nothing feminine about her, but her body, did fill all things with crimes and garboyle. She for the seate of the warre, made choise of *Præneste*; *Antonius* being chased from every place, by the forces of *Caesar*, had retired himselfe to *Perusia*; *Caesar* following his owne fortune and vertue, assaulted and caried *Perusia*. *Antonius* he dismissed without harme: the *Perusians*, more by the rage of the souldiers then by the will or direction of the General

nerall were cruelly handled. The Towne was burnt, the beginning of the fire was caused by the principall man thereof, *Macedonius*, who setting fire of his owne house, and his goods, ranne himselfe through with his sword, and threw himselfe into the flame.

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CHAP. 75.

*Another warre raised in Campania, by Tiberius Claudius Nero, Father to Tiberius Cæsar, and husband of Livia, after wife of Augustus. Her character.*

**A**T the same time, there was on foot in Campania, a furious warre, which *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, of the Prætorian rank, and the high priest, a man of a great spirit, and of infinite learning

ning, the father of *Tiberius Cæsar* (openly avowing himselfe the patron of thote which had lost their lands) had raised: But that also by the comming of *Cæsar* was buried and determined. Who can sufficiently admire these charges of fortune? who these uncertaine accidents of humane Condition? who would either hope or feare things differing from the present, or contrary to that which was expected? *Livia* the daughter of *Drusus Claudianus*, a most noble and most valiant man, by her descent, her goodnesse her, her beauty of all the dames of Rome. the most eminent: whom we since have seene the wife of *Augustus*, and when he was translated to the gods, have also seene her high priest and Flamen to him. Then flying from the sword of *Cæsar*

(that afterward was her owne *Caesar*) whose sonne of two yeares old, this our *Tiberius Caesar* the restorer of the Roman Empire, and who was predestinated to be in the end the sonne of *Caesar* also, she carrying in her bosome with one onely attendant that her flight might the better concealed, by unfrequented wayes to avoid the armes of the souldiours got to the sea side, and with her husband *Nero* passed over into Sicily.

## C H A P.

## C H A P. 76.

*Caius Velleius grandfather of the Author, not able to follow Antonius in his flight, kills himselfe. Fulvia and Plancus permitted torture to Antonius. Pollio with Domitius joyne a fleet to Antonius his forces, Antonius returnes into Italy: Peace is made betwene them at Brundisium. Salvidienus his treachery discovered.*

THE testimony that I would give to a stranger, I must not demand my grandfather of. For *Caius Velleius*, who was by *Caesar Pompeius* chosen into a very honorable place among those three hundred and sixtie judges, and both to him, to *Marcus Brundisium*, and to *Tiro* the Prefect of their workemen, a man inferior

to none : oppressed with age, and infirme of body upon the departure of *Nero* from Naples, whose part for the singular friendship betweene them he in all he was able assisted ; when he could not beare him company , with his sword in Campania , he ranne himselfe through. *Cesar* then permitted *Fulvia* freely without any wrong to depart out of Italy, and *Plancus* to beare the woman company in her flight. For *Asinius Pollio* with seven legions having long retayned *Venetia* in the devotion of *Antonius*, and done great and brave things about *Altinum* and other Cities in that Country, going to *Antonius* in his way having with his perswasions, and giving him his faith for assurance, prevailed with *Domitius* of whom wee have before spoken, that escaping out

out of *Brutus* his campe, and after his death having made himselfe Admirall of a Flecte of his owne, he drew him to *Antonius*. By which fact whosoever will judge equally may know that *Pollio* did not cōferre a meaner benefit upon *Antonius* then *Antonius* did afterward upon *Pollio*. The returne then of *Antonius* into Italy, and the preparations of *Cesar* against him presented indeed a feare of war, but quickly was there a peace concluded betweene them at Brundisium. At which time the villanous devices of *Rufus Salvidinus* came to light, who being borne of obscurest parentage, did prize at a low rate his being raised to the highest honors , and that next after *Cneus Pompeius* and *Cesar* himselfe of the Order of K N I G H T S ,  
N 5 was

was created Confull, except he might rise to that heighth from whence he might see both *Caesar* and the Common wealth beneath himselfe.

CHAP. 77.

*Peace at Misendū, made with Sextus Pompeius, by which all that were proscribed were freed. Statius Marcus put to death by Sextus Pompeius, upon the false imputations of his Admirals: Mænas and Menecrates.*

**T**Hen, the unanimous voyce of the people complaining, whō a sharpe famine did presse, the sea not being free; there was a peace concluded also with *Sextus Pompeius*, at Misenum. Who not incongruously when he entertained *Caesar* and *Anto-*  
nus

mus at supper aboard his ship, told them that he would feast them in his keele, alluding to the name of the place where his fathers house stood (as then possessed by *Antonius*.) By the Articles of this peace it was agreed that *Sicilia* and *Achaia* should be allotted to *Pompeius* in which notwithstanding his unquiet mind could not settle. That only one thing he by his coming brought of benefit to his countrey, that for all that were, proscribed and as many others as for severall causes had fled to him, he did contract they should be safe and peaceably returned to their Country. Which article besides others of the most eminent men did restore to the Republique both *Nero Claudius*, *Marcus Silanus*, *Sentius Surninus*, *Arantius* and *Ti-*  
nus.

*eius*. But *Staius Mureus* who by his coming to him, and that of a Fleete royall had doubled his forces, being charged with forged crimes, because that *Menas* and *Menecrates* were not pleased to have a man of that sort their fellow in office, *Pompeius* had put to death in Sicily.

## CHAP.

## CHAP. 78.

*Antonius marries Octavia, Cæsar's sister. Labienus leading the Parthians with Pacorus, the sonne of Parthia, by Ventidius slain: Cæsar leades his army into Illyria & Dalmatia. Sharp justice done by Domitius in Spaine upon a runne-away Centurion.*

ABOUT this time it was that *Marcus Antonius* tooke to wife *Octavia* the sister of *Cæsar*. *Pompey* was returned into Sicily; *Antonius* into the provinces beyond the seas, which *Labienus* retiring from the campe of *Brutus* to the Parthians, and leading their army into Syria, having slain *Antonius* his Lieutenant had extreemely shaken. But he by the valour and conduct of *Ventidius*,

*Ventidius*, together with the forces of the Parthians, and the Kings some *Pacorus*, that noblest young man was utterly ruined. In the Interim of these times, lest idleness the most capital foe to discipline should corrupt the souldier, *Cæsar* with frequent expeditions into Illyricum and Dalmatia, by patience in dangers and practise of the Art of warre, made his army able to endure. Then also it was that *Cæsar* as *Domitius*, who in his Consulship had Spaine for his Province, was the author of an example of greatest consequence, and one comparable to those of ancient times; for hee commanded to bee slaine with a club a Centurion of the first ranke, by name *Vibullus*, for base and cowardly running away from the fight.

CHAP.

## CHAP. 79.

*Warre resolved upon with Sextus Pompeius: Cæsar maries Livia, wife of Tiberius Nero, her husband surrendering h. r. The character of Marcus Agrippa: part of the fleet lost by tempest: Pompey ruined, flies to Antonius, and is by his command slaine.*

**P**ompeies fleet, and the report and fame of him, growing every day greater, *Cæsar* determined to goe thorow with that warre. And committing the care of building of ships, of pressing souldiers and mariners, and of exercising them, and training them for the sea service to *Marcus Agrippa*, a man of most excellent parts, unconquerable by labour, wat-  
ching

ching or danger one that knew (no man better) how to obey, but that onely referr'd to one sole man : ambitious indeed of commanding others , in all things hating delaies, and coupling the execution with his resolving. He having built in the Lakes of Avernus and Lucrinum, a most gallant fleete, with dayly excercising, made both the souldier and the Saylor absolutely perfect in both the arts of souldiery, and sea service. With this fleete *Caesar* (having first upon the resignation of *Nero*, to whom shee had before beene married, taken *Livia* to wife, with all the ceremonies usuall in the common wealth) began the warre upon *Sicily & Pompeius*. But him that was invincible to all humane force, fortune did at that time grievously

ly afflict : for about *Velia* & the Promontory of *Palinurus*, a storme at the South falling upon him, did miserably teare and scatter farre the greater part of his whole fleete. That caused some delay in that warre, which afterward was managed with doubtfull and sometimes variable fortune. For both the fleete in the same place was torne with a tempest, and as neere *Mylæ*, under the leading of *Agrippa*, the successe was prosperous ; so by the unexpected comming in of a fleete, even in the sight of *Caesar* himselfe, not farre from *Tauromenium*, there was a great blow received by him. Neither was the danger very farre from his owne person : and the legions which were with *Cornificius*, *Caesar's* Lieutenant being landed, were almost

almost defeated by *Pompeius*. But the doubtful fortune of that time was by a seasonable valour corrected: for they having opened at large the squadrons of the fleets of both sides. *Pompeius* being stripped of almost all his ships, fled into Asia, and by the command of *Marcus Antonius*, whose assistance he craved, while hee was troublesome with a faction, betwene a Commander, and a suppliant, and one while would stand upon his greatness, another even beg his life; hee had his throat cut by *Tutius*. Against whom the hatred which by that misdeed hee had procured himselfe, did so long endure, that some time after hee presenting plaies in *Pompey* his Theater, was by the curses of the people driven from the spectacle, which  
himselfe

himselfe was bestowed, and was at the charge of.

## CHAP. 80.

*Lepidus called to the warre with Sextus Pompeius: Pompeius turnea out of all by Cæsar his strange daring.*

WHEN *Cæsar* made that warre against *Pompey*, he had sent for *Lepidus* out of Africa with twelve legions, but halfe compleat. He the vainest of all men living, and who had not with any vertue of his owne merited so long an indulgence of fortune, had joyned to his owne troupes the souldiers of *Pompey*, because hee was neerer to them, who followed not his, but *Cæsars* fortune. And now puffed up with the  
number

number of above twenty legions, his madnesse grew to that height, that being an uselesse companion in the victory of another, as long as hee stayed there suspecting *Caesars* designes; and ever differing from that which gave satisfaction to others, hee construed the whole victory as his owne, and tooke the boldnesse upon him to enjoyne *Caesar* to get him out of Sycily. Not the *Scipios* or any other of the ancient Roman Captaines, did ever dare, and execute a braver thing than *Caesar* at that time did. For when he was both disarmed, and in his cloake carrying nothing but his name about him, hee entred into *Lepidus* his campe, and avoyding those darts which by order of that most milchievous man, were throwne at him, his cloake be-

ing

ing thrust thorow with a pike, hee durst seaze the Eagle of the legion. Then mightest thou know what difference there was betweene the Generalls. Those which were armed followed him that was disarmed: and *Lepidus* in the tenth yeare, after he had attained to a potentie most unsutable to his life, being abandoned both by fortune and his souldiers, wrapped in a mourning garment, and concealed in the dragge of the multitude that flocked about *Caesar*, hee fell prostrate at his knees. His life and his private estate were granted him: his honour which hee could not support, hee was bereaved of.

CHAP.

## CHAP. 81.

*A mutiny among the soldiers, appeased by the severity, and as well by the bounty of Cæsar.*

**A**S sudden mutiny of the soldiers then risen, who by often considering their own strength, were fallen from regarding the discipline of the warre: and what they thought themselves able to enforce, would not deigne to have by request, was partly by the severity, partly by the bounty of the Prince repressed. And upon them was at the same time bestowed a faire addition of the Colonie in Campania: the revenue thereof did belong to the State, instead of which there was appropriated to the common treasury, a much larger revenue of

twelve

twelve hundred thousand Sesterces out of the Island of Crete, & the water worke promised, which at this day is both a singular one, conducing to the health of the City, and an ornament fitted for delicacie and pleasure. *Agrippa* in this did deserve, and had conferred upon him the honour of a Navall Crowne, which before him was never bestowed upon any Roman. After this *Cæsar* returning a Conquerour to the City, did declare that hee did designe for the publique use divers houses which his factors had by several purchases drawne into one, that he might be seated more at large; And promised that hee would build the Temple of *Apollon*, and the galleries about it, which also hee afterward with singular magnificence performed.

CHAP.

## CHAP. 82.

*Antonius with thirteene legions,  
enters Parthia, but with much  
adae, and great losse, goes off.  
Hee resolves upon a warre with  
Cæsar.*

**T**hat sommer in which Cæsar was so happie in Sicily against *Lepidus* fortune, also fought successfull on *Cæsar* part, and the Republickes in the East. For *Marcus Antonius* passing through Armenia, and then *Media*, to invade the Parthians, was encountred by their King. And that at the first having lost two legions, with the Lieutenant *Statianus*, and their baggage and his Engines, presently fell into those dangers with extreame hazard of his whole army, as out of them he despaired

despaired ever to bee delivered. And having lost not lesse than the fourth part of his forces, hee was preserved by the advice and faithfulness of a certaine man, but a Roman; who being taken prisoner in the defeate of *Crassus* his army, had changed his fortune, but not his disposition: and coming in the night to the Roman guards, forewarned him that he should not goe the way that hee intended, but passe another through the woods. *Marcus Antonius* his doing so, was the preservation of the legions; of which yet, as we said before, at least a fourth part of his whole army, and of the followers of the campe, and slaves were lost, and of his baggage scarce any at all was left him. Yet this his flight because he came off alive, *Antonius* called

a victory; who the third summer after returning into Armenia, over-reaching *Ariavates* the King thereof. with a trick bound him in chaines: but, that he might not want of his due honour, with golden ones. The fire then both of his love to *Cleopatra*, and the greatnesse of his vice (which are ever fomented by wealth, libertie, and flatteries) encreasing, he determined to make warre upon his owne country: when hee had before that commanded himselfe to be stiled a new *Bacchus*: when with a Garland of Ivi crowned with a crowne of gold, with the Thirsus in his hand, & buskins buckled on his leggs, in a Chariot like *Liber pater*, hee had ridden about Alexandria.

## CHAP. 83.

*Plancus falls off from Antonius to Cæsar. His character and carriage after his revolt.*

WHILE these preparations for warre are one foote, *Plancus*, not out of judgement to make election of the better part, neither out of love of *Cæsar*, or the State (for to all these he was perpetually adverse) but infected (as with a disease) with treachery, when hee had beene the basest flatterer of the Queene, and an observer, beneath the degree of her slaves, when he had beene *Antonius* his Register, and both the author and minister of the filthiest actions, when he had to all men, and in every thing beene mercenary, witen naked and dyed of a

sea-blew colour, with his head crownd with reeds, and dragging a long taile behinde him, he had crept upon his knees, and danced as *Glaccus*: being checked by *Antonius* at a banquet for his manifest extortions, fled unto *Cæsar*. And afterward imputing the clemency of the conquerour to his owne vertue, used to say that *Cæsar* when he had pardoned, had well tryed it. *Tissius* did within a while imitate him who was his Vnckle. Wittily did *Caponius*, a man of Prætorian ranke, who to his children was a father, most precise carefull of their breeding, the father in law of *Silius*, answer *Plancus*, when in the Senate he imputed many, and those vile things to *Antonius* from whom he was lately fled: upon my faith (said he) *Antonius* did many

many foule things the day before thou leftest him.

## CHAP. 84.

The sea preparation at Actium, with the order of the Navies.

WHEN *Cæsar* then, and *Messalla Corvinus* were Consuls, the victory at Actium was gained: where long before they came to fight, the advantage of the day, and the success thereof was apparent on the Iulian side. On this part both the souldier and the Commander were full of vigor and spirit; on that all things languished: on this were Kings most firme to the cause; on that with their wants much disaffected. There were ships great indeed, but that could not move with

any competent speed. Here were others of a more dreadful aspect: From this side not one fled to *Antonius*: from that to *Cæsar* daily some went over: Finally, in the sight of *Antonius*, and as it were at his very beard, by *Marcus Agrippa* was *Leucas* assaulted and carried. Patrostaten, Corinth seized upon, and twice before the last and general trial, his fleet was beaten. The King *Aminias* followed the better and more commodious course; for *Dellius*, in this warre also firme to his old fashion, as hee had before from *Dolobella*, turned to *Cæsar*: and *Cneus Demitius* a most eminent man, (who onely of all that sided with *Antonius* did never though with his great and most desperate hazard salute *Cleopatra* by the title of *Queene*, but onely by

by her name) came over to *Cæsar*.

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C H A P. 85.

*Cæsar's victory, and the flight of Antonius after Cleopatra: the rendering of the land forces to Cæsar.*

AT length the day of the maine triall came on, in which *Cæsar* and *Antonius* drawing out both their Navies, fought, the one for the preservation of the world, the other for the ruine thereof. The right wing of the *Julian* Navie was governed by *Marcus Latins*, the left by *Arruntius*, the command in chiefe of the whole sea fight rested upon *Agrippa*: *Cæsar* designing to himselfe the place to which fortune should call him,

O 4

was

was in every part present. *Antonius* his fleet was commanded by *Publicola* and *Sosius*. As for the forces at land, those of *Cæsars* part were commanded by *Taurus*, and *Antonius* by *Candus*: when the fight began there was on the one side all things necessary: the Generall, Saylor, or Rowers and souldiers: on the other nothing but the souldiers. *Cleopatra* began first of all to flie, and *Antonius* did choose rather to beare the Queene company in her flight, than his souldiers in fighting for him. And being Generall, who ought to punish runawayes severely, did himselfe runne away from his owne souldiers. Their constancy in fighting most bravely, even when they had lost their head that should have directed them, did long continue, and when they despaired

dispaired of victory, they fought to dye. But *Cæsar* desiring to reduce them to quiet thoughts by words, whom he might have ruined with the sword, calling to them, and shewing them that *Antonius* was fled: asked them for whom and with whom they would now fight. But they, when they had fought a long time for their Generall that was absent, with much a doe, and hardly laying downe their armes yeelded the victory: and *Cæsar* did more readily promise them pardon and life, than they could bee perswaded to crave it. And by all men it was acknowledged that the souldiers had done the duty of the bravest Generall, and the Generall behaved himselfe as the most cowardly souldier. So that thou mayest make a doubt whether he would have  
O 5 governed

governed the victory by his owne, or *Cleopatra's* discretion, that was by her pleasure directed in his flight.

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CHAP. 86.

*Cæsars clemency after the victory: Pollio his faire respect to Cæsar as his Prince; to Antonius as his benefactor.*

**T**He same course also was taken by the army at land, after *Canidius* with an inconsiderate flight, had whirled after *Antonius*: who is hee that in the cursitory way of this so contracted worke, dares take upon him to expresse what that day did beneficiall for the whole world, out of what, and into what an estate the fortune of the Common wealth did remove.

But

But the victory was used with all clemency, very few were they who were put to death, and those indeed which durst not so much as crave their lives. Out of which lenity of the Generall, it may well be collected what he would have made the effect of his victory, either in the beginning of his Triumvirate, or in the Philippian fields if it had beene in his owne power \*\*\*\*\* at length with much wrestling for it, the clemency of *Cæsar* preserved him. Let me not over-passe the memorable both fact, and deed of *Asinius Pollio*. For when after the peace of Brundisium, he had still remained in Italy, and had neither seene the Queene, nor after the mind of *Antonius*, was by her love enfeebled, had medled with his faction, *Cæsar* requiring

requiring him to goe with him to the bataile of Actium, My merits (said he) towards *Antoni-  
nus* are greater, but his favours to me better knowne. I therefore will withdraw my selfe from your hazards, and rest here a prey for the Conquerour.

CHAP. 87.

*Antoni-  
us his death at Alexan-  
dria, & presently after Cleo-  
patra's. None put to death by  
Cæsar after the victory.*

**T**He next yeare *Cæsar* persua-  
ding the Queene and *Antoni-  
us* to Alexandria, did put the  
last hand to the civill warre:  
*Antoni-  
us* did, and that not time-  
rously, kill himselfe. So as by  
his death he did seeme to wipe  
of many spots of his former  
faintnesse.

faintnesse. But *Cleopatra* abusing  
her gardians, having an Aspick  
brought into her did by the bi-  
ing thereof, free from all woma-  
nish feare, put an end to her life.  
A thing it was, worthy of  
both the fortune and the clemen-  
cy of *Cæsar*, that of all those  
which had borne armes against  
him there was not any one that  
by him, or upon his command  
was put to death. *Tecius Bru-  
tus* was by the cruelty of *Anto-  
nius* slaughtered: *Sextus Pom-  
peius* being defeated by *Cæsar*,  
by *Antoni-  
us* likewise (when  
hee had given him his faith to  
preserve for him his honours  
alto entire) was deprived of  
life. *Brutus* and *Cassius* before  
that they had made triall how  
the Conquerour would be encli-  
ned toward them, with a volun-  
tary death ended their daies.

*Cassius*

*Canidius* died more cowardly then did sute with the professi-  
on of which he had ever beene.  
The last of the Murtherers of *Ce-  
sar*, *Parmensis Cassius* received  
his payment by death, as *Trebe-  
nius* before had done.

#### CHAP. 88.

*Lepidus sonne to the Triumvir  
conspiring against Cæsars life,  
without trouble or noise opposit  
by Caius Marcellus provost of  
the Citie. Marcellus his Chara-  
cter.*

**V**While *Cæsar* was putting  
an end to the Actian  
and Alexandrian warre, *Marcus  
Lepidus*, a young man, of a better  
shape then disposition of mind,  
sonne to that *Lepidus* who had  
beene the Triumvir in the setting  
the

the state, and of *Iunia* the sister  
of *Brutus*, entred into a conspi-  
racie of killing *Cæsar*, upon his  
first returne to the City. Then  
*Marcus Marcellus*, Captaine of  
the Guard of the City, borne of  
a noble family, and order of the  
Knights: A man whensoever the  
affaires required vigilance, that  
never slept, provident, and who  
knew how to drive a businesse  
to the head: but when once the  
affaires gave him any time of re-  
mission, melting in ease and dain-  
tinesse more then women would  
desire, not lesse decre to *Cæsar*  
then *Agrippa*, but these prefer-  
red: For he lived almost conten-  
ted with narrow studdes of pur-  
ple upon his gowne, neither was  
he unable to reach greater mat-  
ters, but did not desire them: He  
with infinite stilnesse and cun-  
ning sented ont the devices of  
that

that rash headed young man, and with wonderful speed, without all trouble of men or affairs herein, having ruined *Lepidus*, did extinguish a fearefull originall of a new civill warre, and which was likely to have sprung up again. So he received his due punishment, for his ill contrived plots. Let *Servilia* the wife of *Lepidus* be matched with *Antistius* his before mentioned *Calphurnia*, who throwing herselfe alive into the funerall flame, received in recompence of her untimely end, the never dying memory of her braue action.

CHAP.

## CHAP. 89.

*Cæsar his returne to Rome, his triumph and the model of his government.*

**B**UT of *Cæsar's* returne into Italy, and to the City, how he was met, with what applause of all men, of all ages, and all degrees he was received; what the magnificence of his triumphs was, what that of his bounties, not a full and just volume, much lesse this so concise a worke, is able to make a fit and just relation. Nothing from thence forth could men desire of the gods, nothing could the gods bestow upon men, nothing be craved in prayer, nor any thing in a perfect felicity be found, which *Augustus*, after his returne to the City, did not endow the republique

lique, the people of Rome, and in summe, the whole world withall. The civill warres that had lasted now twenty years were ended, foraigne warres buried, peace repealed, the rage of armes quieted in evrey part, to the lawes their power, to the seates of Iustice their authority, and to the Senate their majestie restored, the commād of the Magistrates restored to the auntient measure, onely two Prætors more added to the former eight, and the first most auncient forme of the Common wealth revived. Husbandry returned into the Country, to things sacred their due honor, to men security, to every man a certainty of enjoying his owne. Some lawes commodiously amended, others with the publique good enacted

Senators

Senators chosen without harshnesse, though not without strictnesse, men of principall quality and who had borne offices of honour and triumphed, by the perswasion of the prince drawne to the Citie for the ornament of the common wealth. Consull he was onely eleven times, which that it might not be continued upon him, *Cæsar* having often pressed and stood against it with much adoe obtained. For the Dictatorship, as the people had obstinately urged it upon him, he as constantly rejected. The warrs made under his command, and by victories, peace established through the world, and so many workes perfected, both at home and out of Italy, would require an Historian that upon that sole worke should bestow the whole terme of his life. Wee remembering.

membring what we have professed, will present to your eyes and mind the whole picture of his government.

CHAP. 90.

*Dalmatia and Spaine by Cæsar  
ana (employed by his command)  
Agrippa, after ages of trouble  
brought to a perfect peace.*

**T**He Civill warre, as wee have said, thus interred, and the members of the Common wealth, now knitting together, and he taking care of such things as so long a course of warre had rent in sunder, Dalmatia which for two hundred and twenty yeares had bin rebellious, was brought quietly to a plaine confession of subjection to our Empire. The Alpes famous both for wild

wild beasts and divers nations subdaed, all the Spaines one while by himself in preson, another by the ministration of *Agrippa*, whom the favour of the Prince had raised to the third Consulship, & after to the Consortship with him of the Tribuniciall power, with a sharpe and variable warre at last was settled. Into which provinces when at the beginniag *Scipio* and *Sempronius Longus* being Consulls our armies were sent, and after in the first yeare of the second Punicke warre, againe under the Command of *Cneus Scipio* uncle to the African, about one hundred and fiftie yeares since: the warre was there so bloudy & so doubtfull, as our Armies and Generalls being lost, we often went away with dishonour, and sometimes not without danger to the Romanes

mane Empire. For those provinces made an end of the *Scopios*, they also with a dishonorable warre of twenty yeares, *Virians*, being generall of that side held our Auncestors play. In them made was the base stipulation of *Quintus Pompeius*, and that more base of *Mancinus*, which the Senate with the ignominy of the Generall yeilded up to the enemy, did cancel; the same also consumed us, so many Generalls of Consular qualitie, so many of Prætorian, and in our fathers daies, did with her armes raise *Sertorians* to that height that in five whole yeares it could not be judged whether the Romans or the Spaniards were the braver warriors, nor which people of them two, should obey the other. These provinces then so large, so populous, so stout,

stout, almost fiftie yeares since, *Cæsar Augustus* reduced to such tranquillitie, as they who never were before free from most furious warres, were under *Cæsar Antistius*, and after that under *Publius Silius* the Lieutenant and others, free from so much as robberies.

## CHAP. 91.

*The ensignes lost at Crassus his defeat returned to Cæsar by the Parthian Conspiracies of Caxpio and Muræna, as also of Egnatius against him discovered and punished.*

**V**While the west was thus quieted from the East, the Roman ensignes which upon the overthrow of *Crassus*, *Orodes* and

and at the repulsing of *Antonius* his sonne *Pharnaces* had taken, were rendred and sent backe to *Augustus*. Which by the propounding of *Plancus* and the universall consent of the Senate and people of Rome bestowed upon him the surname of *Parchian*. Yet were there not wating some that could hate even his happiest state of things. For *Lucius Murena*, and *Fannius Capi*, of farre differing dispositions (for *Murena* without this guiltines might have passed for a good man: but *Capio* even before he was tainted with this crime, the worst that might be) having conspired together about the killing of *Caesar*, seized upon by publique authority, what by violence they would have acted they by Iustice suffered. Neither long after was it that *Egnatius*

*Rufus*

*Rufus* a man in every respect more like a Fencer, then a Senator, having in his Edileship gotten the favour of the people (which he had dayly encreased by quenching of fires with his owne private family) so highly as they were content to joyne, for his sake, the office of Prætor, to take of Edile, and presently also was bold to stand for the Consulship: being overwhelmed with the guilt of all manner of foulness and wickednes, having drawne into his designe others that were likest to himselfe, determined to kill *Caesar*. That since he could not subsist if *Caesar* were safe, at least he might yet dye when he were taken away. For such is the disposition of men, that every one had rather sinke with the publique ruine, then be oppressed

P

with

with his owne, and though he suffer the same yet be lesse remarked. Nor was this man more fortunate in being concealed, then those that went before him, and being clapt in prison, he died a death, of which his life was most worthy.

## CHAP. 92.

*A brave act of Sentius Saturninus punishing the Customers, fraud, and stopping Egnatius in his demand of the Consullship.*

**L**et not a brave fact of an excellent man be defrauded of a due remembrance, *Caius Sentius Saturninus*, who about that time was Consull. *Caesar* was then absent about ordering the affaires of Asia, and the East carrying about with his person, the

benefits

benefits of his peace. When *Sentius* (as it fell out being at that time both sole Consull and *Caesar* absent) had both done other things with the strictnesse of former times, and with admirable constancy: had after the old fashion and severity of the Consuls, discovered the frauds of the farmours of Customs, punished their avarice, and brought the revenues of the state into the publique treasury. And also sitting principal Consull at the assembly for elections, those that stood for the quaestorship, if he judged them unworthy of it, he forbade them to declare themselves: threatening them when they remained firme to their intentions, that he would by his Consular power punish them, and *Egnatius* who flourishing in the favour of the people did hope to couple the

P 2

Consulship

Consulship, to the Prætorship as he before had done that to the Edileship, he forbade to profess himselfe for a Candidate, and when he prevailed not with him, he swore that though the people by their suffrages did choose him, yet that he would not declare him for elected. Which fact of his I should reckon worthy to be compared with any of the auncient Cōsuls whatsoever, but that we doe more willingly commend the things that we heare of then those that wee see, that we wait upon the present with envy, but things past with reverence, and doe believe that those doe overload us, these instruct us.

C H A P.

## C H A P. 93.

*The death of M. Marcellus sonne to Octavia, Cæsar's sister. Agrippa returned to Rome, marries Iulia Cæsar's daughter, late wife to Marcellus.*

Almost three yeares, before the villany of *Egnatius* brake out, and about the time of *Muræna's* and *Capio's* conspiracy, now fiftie yeares since *Marcus Marcellus* the sonne of *Octavia*, *Augustus* his sister who all men did so reckon, for his successour in his power, if ought should happen to *Cæsar*, as they thought it could not yet descend upon him securely by reason of *Marcus Agrippa* his greatnesse, (having when he was Edile presented most magnificent shewes to the people) departed this life,

a very young man, and truly as they say of free and open virtues, of a cheerefull disposition, and witte, and capable of the fortune for which he was bred. After whose decease, *Agrippa*, who under colour of important service of the state was gone into Asia, but as report speaks it, for some secret distates with *Marcellus* had withdrawne himselfe, from the present time returning thence tooke to wife *Julia* the daughter of *Augustus* who had before beene married to *Marcellus*. A woman whose wombe was neither fortunate for her selfe nor for the Common wealth.

CHAP.

CHAP. 94.

*Tiberius Cæsar* *sonne* to *Livia*, called to affaires : His character sent into the East, quiets *Armenia* and receives pledges of the *Parthian*.

AT this time *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, who when he was three yeares old, as we before have said, *Livia* the daughter of *Drusus Claudius* (*Nero* to whom she had before beene married affiancing her) had married *Augustus* : Being trained up in the discipline of heavenly knowledge, a young man admirably furnished by his Nobilitie, shape, stature, the best kindes of learning, and an infinite wit : Who from the beginning might hope for any greatnesse that he since hath arrived at,

and at the first view appeared a Prince, being Quæstor at the nineteenth yeare of his age, began to deale in affaires of state. And did at Ostia and in the Citie by the direction of his father in law, so order the businesses of a pressing dearth and want of corne, that by what he then did it clearely appeared how great a man for employments he would one day prove. Neither long after being sent by the same his father in law, to survey and put in order the Orientall provinces, he having in that expedition given many singular proofes of all kindes of virtues ; with his Legions entred Armenia. And having brought it under the cōmand of the people of Rome, did deliver the Crowne thereof to *Artavasdes*, with the fame of which so great name of his the King

King of the Parthians also af-frighted, sent his sonne to *Caesar* for Ostages.

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CHAP. 95.

*Tiberius returned with his brother Drusus, sent against the Rhætians and Vindelicians, with fortunate event.*

WHEN *Nero* was returned, *Caesar* determined to make experience of him in a warre of no meane consequence giving him for an assistant his brother *Drusus Claudius*, of whom *Livia* was delivered in *Caesar's* house. They both dividing their charge invaded the Rhætians and the Vindelicians, and forcing many Cities and Castles, as also by some happie successe in open fights, with

P 5 much

much losse of the bloud of the conquered nations, and more danger then damage of the Roman army; did master them that were most strongly seated, the access to them extreamly difficult, in number multitudinous, and in the fierce bravery of their courage redoubtable, before which time the Censorship of *Plancus* and *Paulus* being transpassed in wrangling and braules was neither honorable to them, nor usefull to the state, when the one wanted the respect and vigor that should be in a Censor, and the others course of life would not agree with that title. For *Paulus* was not able to fill the roome, and *Plancus* could reprehend nothing in youngmen, or heare objected to them which hee must not bee enforced to acknowledge to bee in himselfe. CHAP.

## CHAP. 96.

*Agrippa surrenders his wife Iulia to Tiberius. The Pannonian warre ended by Tiberius, who entred the Citie for it in an ovant triumphe.*

**A** *Grippa*, within a while after who had by many deserving enable his late raising; and had brought it so farre as he was both the father in law of *Nero* (whose children his Nephewes, sacred *Augustus* giving them the names of *Cains* and *Lucius* had adopted) did now tie *Nero* in stricter and neerer bonds to *Cesar* for his daughter *Iulia*, which had beene married to *Agrippa*, *Nero* tooke to wife. Then followed the

*Panno-*

Pannonian warre, which being begunne by *Agrippa* and *Marcus Vinicius* thy grandfather, then Consulls, and which being great, cruell, and also neereely hanging over Italy, was by *Nero* ended. The Natives of the Pannonians and Dalmatians, the scituations of the Countreies and rivers, the number and equipage of their forces, the most glorious, and many victories of so great a Generall in that warre we will in some other place describe. Let this worke now keepe its owne forme. *Nero* having obtained this victory entred the City in Ouant triumph.

CHAP.

CHAP. 97.

*Marcus Lollius receives a blow, & loseth the Eagle of the legion in Germany. That warre committed to Drusus, by him happily managed: his character: his death. The rest finished by Tiberius.*

**B**Vt while in this part of the Empire all things succeed most prosperously; a blow received in Germany under the Lieutenant *Marcus Lollius*, (a man in every thing more greedily desiring money than to doe bravely: and with the wariest dissembling of his vices, most vicious, together with the losse of the Eagle of the fifth legion) did call *Cesar* from the City into Gallia. The care and burden then of the German warre was transferred

ferd to *Drusus Claudius*, *Nero's* brother; a young man of so many so eminent vertues, as either the nature of mortall man is capable of, or industry can acquire, whose disposition whether it were more able for affaires of the warre, or the acts of peace it is uncertaine. Certainly his gentlenesse and swetnesse in his conversation, and his respect to his friends faire, and like himselfe is said to bee inimitable: As for the beauty of his person, it was in the next ranke to his brothers. But him now the Conquerour of a great part of Germany, and having drawne very much bloud of that people in many places; the injustice of the destinies when he was Consul in the thirtieth yeare of his age, ravished from us. The charge then of that warre was delivered

delivered to *Nero*, which hee underwent with both his owne vertue and fortune. And having past victorious thorow all the parts of Germany without any damage of the army committed to him which ever was the care of that Generall, hee so mastered it, as hee almost brought it into the forme of a tributary Province. Then was a second triumph with a second Consulship presented to him.

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CHAP. 98.

*Warre in Thracia ended by Lucius Piso: a brisfe character of him.*

WHILE these things of which wee have treated doe passe in Pannonia and Germany, a birter warre risen in Thracia; all the Nations of that

that country flying to armes, was by the vertue of *Lucius Pise*, whom even at this day wee see still a most diligent and most milde guardian of the Cities quiet, suppressed : for being *Cæsars* Lievtenant, hee made warre with them three yeares together, and partly in fight, partly by forcing of places, hee brought those most fierce Nations with their extreame losse and destruction into their former fashion of living in peace : and by his actions restored to Asia their security, and to Macedonia their quiet. Of whom all men must both thinke and say that his conditions were most equally tempred betweene smartnesse and lenity, nor that easily can be found any man who either was more fervently in love with ease and quiet ; or did  
more

more ably beare the weight of affaires , and that did take more care for that which was to be done , without any ostentation of doing it himselfe.

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CHAP. 29.

*Tiberius out of respect to Caius and Lucius nephewes to Octavius, quits all his greatnesse in Rome, and retires to study at Rhodes.*

W<sup>I</sup>thin a little while after, having past two Consulships, and as often triumphed, and in the Consortship of the Tribunitiall power made equall to *Augustus*, of all the City except one (and that because hee would have it so) the most eminent, the greatest of Captaines, and both by his fame and by his fortune the most illustrious

ous, and indeed the second eye and head of the State : with a strange, a wondrous, and an unspeakable piety (whereof the reasons within a while were discovered) when *Caius Caesar* had now put on his virile robe, and *Lucius* also began to be ripe for the conversation of men; Lest his glittering should hinder the beginnings of those rising young men, hee concealing the cause of that his resolution, did crave leave of him that was both his wives father, and his mothers husband, that hee might take some rest from his continued labours. What the carriage of the City in that time and occasion was, what the thoughts of particular men, what teares were shed by those that tooke their leaves of a man of that greatnesse, how his country did almost

almost lay hold upon him to stay him; wee hold best to reserve the narration for a full and compleate worke; That yet in this our running straine, we must speake that hee so past his seven yeares at Rhodes, as all both Proconsulls and Lieutenants, passing into the provinces beyond the seas, and coming to visit him did ever stoope their falces to him a private man (if such a Majestie may bee termed private,) and confessed that his retirement was more full of honour than their Command.

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CHAP.

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## CHAP. 100.

*The Parthian falls off from his league with Rome, & Germany also rebels. Iulia her foule life punished in her with exile, in her favourites with death.*

**T**He whole world did feele that *Nero* had quieted the tuition of the City: for both the Parthian falling off from the friendship of Rome, laid hold of Armenia: and Germany perceiving the eye of him that had mastered her, not beate upon her, rebelled against us. But in the City the same yeare that reigned *Augustus*, now thirty yeares past, when himselfe and *Gallus Caninius* were Consuls, had with most magnificent shewes of Fencers at the sharpe, and representation of Sea-fights, dedicated

dedicated *Mars* his Temple, and satisfied both the eyes and mindes of the people of Rome; a storme and mischiefe, foule to be related, and horrid to bee remembred broke out in his owne houte. For *Iulia* his daughter totally forgetting the greatnesse of both her father and her husband, did leave nothing unassailed either in riot or lusts, that a woman might or do or suffer filthily; And measured the greatnesse of her fortune by her libertie of sinning, accounting all lawfull that she had a minde to. *Julius Antonius* a singular instance of *Cæsars* clemency, being then the polluter of his house, was also the revenger himselfe of the villany committed by him: whom, when his father was vanquished, hee had not onely estated in a full security

rity of his life, but had also conferred upon him the Priesthood, Prætorship, the Consulship, provinces and honours, and more had in the strictest bonds of affinity received him into his bosome by the honour of marrying him to his sisters daughter. And *Quintus Crispinus* vaying his crime with the austeritie of a fowre brow, *Appius Claudius*, *Sempronius Gracchus*, *Scipio*, with other of lesser note, and of both the orders of Knights and Senators, as if they had but corrupted the wife of any private man, when they had defiled the daughter of *Augustus*, and the wife of *Nero*, suffered according to law. *Julia* being banished into an Island, was removed out of the eye of her father and her country, whom yet her mother *Scribonia* accompa-  
 nied

nied, & remained with her as her fellow exile, though voluntary.

#### CHAP. 101.

*Caius Cæsar sent into the East; parties with the Parthian in an Island in the midst of Euphrates: Feasts, and is feasted by him.*

Within a little time after this when *Caius Cæsar*, having before had the charge of quieting other provinces, was sent into Syria, first visiting *Tiberius Nero*, to whom as his superiour hee yeelded all respect, he there in such various fashions carried himselfe, as there was not wanting occasion and reason to praise him very highly, nor yet some cause to discommend him. Hee came to an interview  
 with

with the Parthian King, a most stately young man in an Island which the river Euphrates compassed about, their number on both sides being equall. Which shew being very brave and memorable of the Romane army standing on this, the Parthian on that side, when the two most eminent chieffes of Empires, and men in the world did meet together, it was my chance to see in the beginning of my souldiership, being then a Tribune of the souldiers: which place having held before under *Marcus Vinicius* thy father, and under *Publius Silius* in Thracia and Macedonia and since in Achaia Asia, and all the Easterne provinces with the mouth, and both the sides of the Ponticke sea. I now do enjoy no unpleasing remembrance of so many affaires, places

Nations

Nations, and Cities. The Parthian first feasted with us on our side. And afterward *Cains* was entertained by the King on the enemies shore.

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CHAP. 102.

*Marcus Lollius sent by Augustus; supervisor to young Caius; discovered in his treacheries, kills himselfe. Caius wounded by Abduus at a treatie: enfeebled both in minde and body, and upon his returne dies at Limira; his brother being before dead at Massilia.*

AT which time the treacherous devices (and such as were to bee found onely in a crafty and mischievous soule) of *Marcus Lollius*, who was appointed by *Augustus* as the Moderator

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derator of his sonnes youth, being first discovered by the Parthian, were afterward by *Cæsars* displeasure made knowne. His death which within a few daies afterward followed, whether it were accidentall or voluntary, I cannot tell. But as much as men rejoyced at his death, so much did the City grievously lament within a little after the losse of *Cerforinus*, who dyed in the same parts: a man that seemed borne to purchase the good will of all man kinde. *Cæsar* then entering Armenia, at the first beginning carried his businesse fortunately enough: but within a while coming to a portio, in which he in confidently had engaged himselfe, he norre Artaxerxes was sore wounded by one *Artabanus*. Upon which hurt as his body was the weaker

weaker, so his minde began to be lesse able for affaires of State. Nor was there wanting the conversation of men, that fed his vices with their assentation (for flattery 'doth perpetually attend upon the greatest fortunes.) By which meanes hee was brought to that passe, that in the uttermost and remotest corner of the world, hee would rather have drawne out his daies to old age, than returne to Rome. Having long struggled against it, and unwillingly returning toward Italy, he in a City of Lycia called Limira, died of sicknesse, whom his brother *Cæsar* now almost three yeares before being bound for Spaine, was dead at Massilia.

## CHAP. 103.

*Tiberius Caesar adopted by Augustus.*

**B**Vt fortune which had taken away the hope of a mightie name, did now at length restore to the Republique her owne guardes and safety: for when *Publius Vinicius* thy father was Consull, before the death of these two brothers, *Tiberius Nero* returning from Rhodes, had filled his countrey with incredible joy. Neither did *Augustus Caesar* long demurre upon it, for it was not to bee enquired who was to be chosen, but he was to be chosen that was most eminent; what therefore after the death of *Lucius*, when *Caius* was yet living, he would have done, but was hindered therein by *Nero*

ro his stiffenesse in refusing it, after the deccase of both the young men, he put in execution. That hee both tooke him into the fellowship of the Tribuniall power with himselfe, and being Consull with *Elivs Caius Senius*, the fifth of the Kalends of Iuly, seven hundred fittie and foure yeares after the building of the City, now twentie and seven yeares since hee adopted him for his sonne. The rejoycing of that day, the concourse of the Citizens, the prayers of those which did almost with their hands lay hold upon the gods, and the hope of perpetuall tranquillity, and the eternity of the Roman empire, wee can scarcely expresse in that compleate worke which wee doe intend: let us not then goe about to doe it to the life in this. One onely thing.

thing. I am content now to deliver : that, then there appeared cleerely to fathers, a hope of enjoying their children, to husbands their wives, to owners of their patrimony, to all men of safety, quiet, peace and tranquillity : so that neither could any hope expect more, nor be more happily answered.

CHAP. 104.

*Agrippa also the sonne of Iulia adopted by Augustus the same day. Tiberius sent to command in the German warre ; by the souldiers received with all joy.*

**T**He same day also was adopted *Marcus Agrippa*, the sonne of *Iulia*, whom she bore after the death of *Agrippa* : but in the adoption of *Nero*, this was added

added by *Cesar* himselfe, that he did it for the Common wealths sake. Not long did his countrey hold him in the Citie, the Protector and guardian of the Empire ; but presently sent him into Germany : where three yeares before under *Marus Vinius* thy Grandfather, a most worthy man, a furious warre had broken out, and by him was happily managed, in some places invading, in others standing upon the defensive : and for that respect were decreed to him triumphall ornaments, with a right glorious inscription upon the workes; that time made me, who before had beene Tribune military, the souldier of *Tiberius Caesar* : for being presently after his adoption sent with him in quality of Generall of the horle into Germany, the suc-

cessour of my fathers places. I was for nine whole yeares (either Generall, as I said, or his Lievtenant) the spectator of his heavenly actions, and, as farre as the meanest of my faculties could reach, an assister of them. Neither doth the condition of mortall man afford in my opinion any thing like that sight which I then enjoyed; when in the noblest part of *Italy* and all the tract of the Gallian Provinces, every man seeing their old Generall, and who by his merits and vertues was truly *Cesar* before hee was so by name, did rather congratulate with themselves than with him for his advancement. But the teares of the souldiers by their joy wrung out their cheerefulnesse, and their new fashioned exultations in saluting

ring him, their striving to kisse his hand, and not forbearing presently to adde, We see thee Generall, wee have thee againe in safety. And then; I was with thee in *Armenia*, I in *Rhætia*, I was rewarded by thee in *Vindelicæ*, I in *Pannonia*, I in *Germany*: can neither be exprest in words, nor hardly bee thought to deserve the being belceved.

#### CHAP. 105.

*Divers Nations of Germany mastered by him: Hee returnes to Rome, leaving the remnant of the warre to the charge of Senti-us Saturninus: his character.*

HEE then presently entring *Germany*, subduing the *Canninæ*, the *Arteari*, the *Bructeri*, & reducing the people of the *Cherusci*,

rusci, and passing over the river (which within a while was enabled by our losse there received) of *Visurgis*; having pierced into the heart of the country, when *Cæsar* had freed all parts of a sharpe and most dangerous warre, the rest which was of lesse hazard, he committed to *Sextius Saturninus*, who had bene his fathers Lievtenant in Germany. A man of manifold vertues, industrious active, provident and in all military duties, as well framed to endure them, as to understand them: yet one, that when his affaires did give him roome to take his ease, that did with delicacie and freenesse abuse it. But notwithstanding even that in such sort, as thou wouldst rather terme him magnificent, and joviall, than riotous and lazie: of whose brave and noble Consulship

ship, wee have before treated. The summer expeditions of that yeare being prolonged even till December, did conduce profitably in the highest degree to the victory. *Cæsars* pietie did hale him, when the Alpes were almost barracadoed up with snow, into the Citie for the safety of the Empire: but in the beginning of the spring, the same returned him into Germany, in whose middle marches hee had at his going away by the river *Julia*, about the head thereof, placed his winter garrisons.

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CHAP.

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## CHAP. 106.

*All Germany the next yeare subdued by Tiberius, both with land and sea forces.*

**O**H the good gods, what workes able to fill the greatest volumes, did wee the next summer under the command of *Tiberius Caesar*. All Germany passed thorow and surveyed by our armies, Nations conquered which were by name almost unknowne, the people of the *Cauchi* reduced to subjection, all their youth infinite in number, of a prodigious vastnesse of body, and by the scimitation of their places most free from danger; rendring up their armes, and empalled with the squadrons of our glittering and armed souldiery, together  
with

with their Commanders, fell prostrate before the Tribunall of our Generall. The Longobards overcome, a people also of Germany more fierce than fiercene it selfe: Finally, what never was before by any hope conceived, much lesse at any time attempted, The Roman army was with flying colours led foure hundred miles, from the Rhyne to the river of Elbe, which runnes by the confines of the *Senones* & the *Hermondurians*; and in the same place the Romane fleet (with an admirable felicity, and care of the Generall, and a due observing withall of the times) having sayled thorow the Ocean, by an unheard of, and till then an unknowne sea, passing up the river of Elbe with the conquest of many Nations, and infinite provision of all things

things joyned with *Caesar* and his armie.

CHAP. 107.

*A passage of an old Barbarian desiring to see Tiberius, after which he returns to the city.*

**I** Cannot forbear but among the greatnesse of these occurrences, I must insert this, such as it is: when wee had possessed the hithermost banke of the foresaid river, and that of the other side did glister with the armed youth of the enemy, who at every motion of our navie was in much disorder: one of the Barbarians, auncient in yeares, comely of personage, and of qualitie, as much as might by his habit be conjectured, of the best sort; getting aboard a hollow piece

piece of timber (after which fashion their boates are made) and guiding that vessell alone, without other helpe. hee came into the midst of the river, and enquired if it might be free for him without danger to land on that banke where we stood in armes, and to see *Caesar*. The leave that hee desired being given him, hee rowed to land, and when he had a long time beheld *Caesar*: Our young men (said he) are madde, who while they doe adore your deitie when it is absent, do rather choose, when you are present to stand in feare of your armes, then to trust your fidelity, but I by thy favour and permission, *Caesar*, have now seen the gods, of which I before had but heard. Neither have I found or wished in my life a day to mee more fortunate then this: having

Having then gotten leave to kisse his hand, returning to his boat, and without ceasing his eye fixed upon *Cæsar*, hee passed over to the banke where his owne people stood. *Cæsar* then victorious over all the nations which he had reached, with his armie safe, and unempaired, and onely once by a stratagem of the enemies with their extreme losse attempted brought his legions backe to their winter stations, and with the same speed that he had used the yeare before, returned to the citie.

## C H A P.

## C H A P. 108.

*Maroboduus, king of the Marcomanni, his character and state of his kingdom.*

There was now nothing in Germanie that might be conquered, but onely the Nation of the Marcomannes, which under the conduct of *Maroboduus*, quitting their owne habitations, had set downe upon those lands which are surrounded with the Hercinian wood. No making haste can excuse the forbearing to make mention of this man. *Maroboduus* then, by his birth noble, of body able, of courage stout, rather accounted a Barbarian, for his countries sake, then for his understanding, had possessed himselfe of a principallitie among his countrimen, not in a tumult,

tumult, by chance, or changable and onely settled at the pleasure of those that did underlie it: but aiming in his minde at a stable command, and a regall power, hee determined, drawing faire from the Romanes all his nation, to goe thither, where while hee fled from very powerfull armes he might make his owne the most potent. Seizing therefore upon the places of which wee spake before, hee either by warre made all his neighbours yeeld to him, or by treaties made them one body with him.

C H A P.

## C H A P. 109.

*His policie and forme of government preparing for a warre with the Romanes. Tiberius his intention to invade first.*

**H**IS body carefully guarded, his Empire with perpetuall exercising almost brought to the Romane discipline, hee in short time raised to an eminent height, and even to our Empire fearefull. And towards the Romanes hee so carried himselfe, that as he did not provoke them with warre, so hee made it appeare, that if he were injured he would want neither will nor meanes to resist. His Embassadors whom he sent to *Cesar*, did sometimes commend him to him, as a suppliant, sometimes treated for him as an equall.

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What nations or men whatsoever would fall from us, found with him a certaine retreat, and perfectly dissembling it hee was in sume the emulator of the Empire. And his armie which hee had raised to seventy thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, with continuall employing it against his borderers, he fitted for a greater business, then that hee had then in hand. And so much the more was hee to be redoubted, for that when hee had Germany before him, and upon his left hand; *Pannonia* upon his right hand; the Noricians at the backe of his inhabitants, as being ready at any time to fall upon any of them, hee was equally feared of all; Nor did hee suffer Italie it selfe to rest secure and fearelesse of his growing greatnesse,  
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it being but two hundred miles from the tops of the Alpes the borders of Italie, to his frontire. This man, and that countie *Tiberius Caesar* resolved the next summer to attaque severall wayes: and commanded *Sentius Saturninus*, that by the countie of the Catti cutting away through the Hercinian Forrest, he should leade the legions into *Boiohamum* (so is the countie called which *Marobodunus* possessed) himselfe beganne to draw the armie which served in *Illirium* against the *Marcomanni* by *Carnuntum* a place that of the kingdome of *Noricia* is on that side next to them.

CHAP.

## CHAP. 110.

*That resolution hindered by the rebellion of Dalmatia, and all their neigbours to the number of eight hundred thousand men of warre.*

**F**ORTUNE doth sometimes breake off, and hinder the determinations of men. *Cæsar* had now prepared his winter stations upon the Danubius, and drawing his army towards them, was not above five dayes journey from the neereſt of the enemy, had commanded *Saxones*, who almoſt equally diſtant from him to march on within a few dayes to joyne his Legions with *Cæſar* in the forenamed place, when all Pannonia diſtaſted with the benefits of a long peace, and Dalmatia growne in ſtrength,

ſtrength, having drawne into their ſociety all the nations about them as was among them, agreed flew to armes. Then were things neceſſarie preferred before matter of glory. Nor was it thought ſafe to leave Italy naked the enemy being ſo neere & the army ſhut up in the remoteſt parts of Germany. The whole number of the people and Nations which had rebelled, was full eight hundred thouſand men. Two hundred thouſand foote and nine thouſand horſe, they had ſelected, of which vaſte multitude under the command of moſt brave and moſt underſtanding Captaines they had decreed that part ſhould ſtand for Italy, which confined at the confluence of *Nauportium* and *Tergeſtis*; part had broken into *Maedonia*, part was left at home for

for the guard of their owne. The principall command was in *Baro* and *Pinetus* their Generalls. But in all the Pannonians, there was not onely an ordinary exercising of their mindes, and in discipline, but also an acquaintance with the Roman language, and in many of them knowledge of learning. No Nation certainly therefore did ever so suddenly couple the determination of making warre with the warre it selfe, and put in execution what they had resolved to doe. The Romane Citizens were oppressed with it, the Merchants butchered, a great number of Ensigne-bearers slaughtered in that part of the Country which was furthest from the Generall; all Macedonia seased upon by their forces, all things, and in every place wasted with the sword  
and

and with fire. How great was the feare of this warre when it did shake and terrifie the constant, and the mind settled by experience in so great warres of *Augustus Caesar*.

## CHAP. III.

*Preparation to resist them, made by Augustus, and Tiberius the Generall.*

Levies therefore were made, All the old souldiers were from every quarter recalled, and both men and women that were within the taxe of freedmen compelled to finde a souldiour. This word of the Prince himselfe was heard in the Senate; That except they tooke good heed, within ten dayes the enemy might be before the walls  
R of

of Rome. In vaine had we made all this preparation except there had beene one to governe it. The republique therefore as it did desire a guard of forces, so did it also craue of *Augustus*, *Tiberius* for Generall. Our meane nesse had also in this warre a place of honorable employment. For my charge of horse being expired, and my selfe desig ned Questor, when I as yet was not a Senator, I was made equall to Senators, and those which were appointed Tribunes of the people: and brought a part of the army delivered me by *Augustus* to his sonne. In my Quæstorship then not making use of the lot of my Province, and being sent a messenger, from the one of them to the other, what armies of the enemies did wee not see in the first yeare? with how brave opportu-

opportunities by the prudence of our Generall, did we by peece-meale catch some parts of their forces, which altogether were madly enraged? with how great temper and with al commoditie did we see things done by the authority of the prince? with how vaste workes was the enimie so block't up with the guardes of our army, that hee might not breake out any way? and being needy of meanes and raging within himself, his forces might decay and languish?

## CHAP. 112.

*Messalinus his brave actions who with a halfe compleate Legion in Illyricum, quenched the rebellion and routed above 20000. of the enemy. Tiberius had every where the better of the warre: Cæcina and Silvanus with five legions endangered, by the valour of the souldiour freed. Agrippa the adopted lost the favour of Augustus by his want of temper.*

**T**He act of *Messalinus* so fortunate in the event, so brave in the attempt, must be commended to memory, who being a man more noble in his disposition then in his extraction, and that most worthily had *Corvinus* for his father, and left his surname to his brother *Cotta*, being

ing governor of Illyrium, with the twentieth Legion that was but halfe the just number, having subdued the rebels, when hee was compassed about with above twentie thousand of the enemies forces, overthrew and routed them, and for that action was honoured with triumphall ornaments. So were the enemies delighted with their numbers, such was their confidence of their strength, that wheresoever *Caesar* was, they did trust in themselves nothing at all. Part of them being opposed to the Generall himselfe, and macerated at our pleasure, as well as with our profit, brought to a starving famine, when they neither dared make head against him that pressed the nor yet fight w<sup>th</sup> the that offered it, and did draw themselves into battaglia, seizing upō the Mount

*Claudius* with the strength, of the place defended themselves. But an other part which marched against our army which *Anulus Cacus*, and *Silvanus Plantius* of Consular quality, brought out of the Provinces beyond the Sea, having compassed in our five legions with their aides and the Kings horsemen (for *Rhemetalus* the King of Thrace, with a great powre of Thracians drew to our aid in that warre) did almost power a ruinous destruction upon them all. The Kings horse were routed, the wings beaten, the Cohorts turned their backs: and even about the ensignes of the legions, was feare and trembling. But the Romane virtue did at that time challenge more glory for the souldiers, then it left for the Commanders: who bursting with exceeding love of

of their Generall did fall upon the enemy before by any intelligence they knew where the Enemy was. Now therefore matters being doubtfull the Legions encouraging themselves, some Tribunes of the souldiers being slaine by the enemy, the Campmaster killed, the Commanders of the Cohorts slaine, the Centurions not unbloudied, of whom the first ranke were lost, they charged the Enemy. And not contented, withstanding their furie they brake through their battell & so beyond all hope recovered the victory. Almost at this same time *Agrippa*, who that day that *Pisces*, was so, by his owne grandfather was adopted, and had now two yeares before begunne to demonstrate what manner of man he was, with a strange depravednesse

of his mind & wit, bent to headlong courses did estrange the mind of his father, who was also his grandfather, from him. And ere long his vices dayly growing more foule made an end fit for his madnesse.

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CHAP. 113.

*Tiberius finding his armies bulke too great, disperses it. He goeth backe to Siscia.*

**R**Eceive now *Marcus Vinicius* the description of a Capitaine in warre as great as thou at this day seest him a prince in peace. The armies being joyned together, both those which were before with *Cesar* and those which came to him, and ten legions being drawne into one Campe, with above seaventie Cohorts,

Cohorts, fourteene wings, & above ten thousand old souldiers, and besides these, a great number of Voluntaries and a strong body of the Kings Cavallery: finally so great an army as since the Civill warres had not in any place beene drawne together, all men were in that respect glad thereof, reposing their principall confidence of the victorie in their number. But the excellent Generall who well understood what he went about, and preferred things profitable before such as shewed faire, (whom I ever observed in all his warres to follow those courses which were indeed approvable, rather then such as were by most commended,) for a few dayes fate still to refresh his armie tired with their journey. And perceiving it greater then could be well ordered, and

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that it was not easily to be governed, determined to discontinue it. And passing with a long and very laborious journey, the difficulty whereof can hardly be expressed he so directed it, that neither any durst attacke them in grosse, nor all of them for feare of those which were next them, make any attempt upon any part of his men that departed from him, returned them to the quarters from whence they came. Himselfe in the beginning of a most sharpe winter, coming backe to Sciscia did appoint Livtenants, in which number we all were, to the government of the divided winter stations.

C H A P.

C H A P. II 4.

*His care for the sicke or wounded, his moderate government. Pannonia seeks a peace : their Generalls Baro and Pinetus yeild themselves : the reliques of the warre are onely in Dalmatia.*

What an act (must I now relate) not glorious in the relation but of highest ranke in a solid and reall virtue, as also for benefit most commodious, in the experience of it most pleasing, and for humanitie singular. There was not all the time of the Germane and Pannonian warre, any one of us, or that were in qualitie before or behind us that was sicke, whose recovery of health *Cesar* did not with such care provide for as if his mind infinitely distracted with so many other

other affaires had onely bent it selfe to that one businesse. Those that wanted it had ever a chariot ready to carrie them : his owne litter was common , the ease whereof I among others felt. One while Physitians, another meate carfully drest, another meanes to bathe, which onely for that purpose were caried about with him, were ready to helpe the infirmity of any man, onely his house and those of his family were wanting to the sick man ; for the rest there was no lacke of any thing that by the one could be desired, or by the other be performed. And now to this that (which every one who was there will acknowledge ) as well as the rest which I have related : that he alone ever rode on horse backe: hee onely and alwaies in the summer expedition did

did suppe sitting with those which he had invited: To those that offended against the discipline of the warre, as often as the president was not pernicious, he easily granted a pardon ; Admonitions were frequent, chastisements sometimes ; but punishment by death very rare : so he held a meane betweene winking at many things, and restraining of some. That winter the warre went on prosperously : But the summer following, all Pannonia, the remainder of the war resting in Dalmatia, supplicated for war. That Nation proudly brave with so many thousands of able youth which but a little before threatened to bring Italy into servitude, bringing their armes which they used to weare, upon the rivers side that is called Bathinus, and all of them in generall prostrating

prostrating themselves at the foote of the Generall. *Baro* and *Pinerus* their two most famous Leaders; the one taken, the other yelding himselfe; we shall, as I hope, relate in order, and in a compleate history. In Autumne the victorious army was againe bestowed in their winter stations, the command of all in chiefe was by *Cæsar* laid upon *Marcus Lepidus*, a man both by birth and fortune next to the *Cæsars* themselves, whom as farre as any man did know or understand, so much he would both admire and love, and reckon him the ornament of those so great families, from which he was descended.

## C H A P.

## C H A P. 115.

*Tiberius Cæsar* turns upon the *Dalmatians*. *Lepidus* with much bravery, bringing his legions thorow divers Nations: comes to *Tiberius*, and is for that service rewarded with triumphall ornaments: *Dalmatia* then quieted, when almost ruined.

*Cæsar* then turned both his minde and armes to the other charge of the *Dalmatian* warre. In which country what a Lieutenant he found for his use, of my brother *Magius Cæler Velleius*, both his owne and his fathers professing it, did well testifie, and the most princely rewards which *Cæsar* when he triumphed, bestowed upon him, do imprint in memory of all men.

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In the beginning of summer *Lepidus* having drawne the army out of their winter garisons, and marching toward his Generall *Tiberius*, through Nations that were as yet entire, not having felt the plague of warre, and for that cause both stout and fierce, contending as well with the difficulties of nature, as the force of the enemy, with mightie losse of his opposers; wasting the country, burning the houses, killing the men, jolly with his victory, and loaden with booty, came to *Cesar*: which act if hee had done when the Sovereigne command had beene in himselfe, he by right ought to have triumphed. Now for the same by the vote of the Senate agreeing with the judgement of the Princes, hee was honoured with triumphall ornaments. That summer

mer made an end of a most important warre. For *Dantisi* and *Desidates*, the Dalmatians, being almost invincible as well by the situation of the places and mountaines, as by the fiercenesse of their nature, and a wondrous habilitie in matter of the warre, by the straights of the Forrests, were not now by the direction, but by the hand and sword of *Cesar* himselfe then brought to bee quiet, when they were almost totally ruined. Nothing could I in that so great a warre, nothing in Germany could I either see or admire more, than that the occasion of victory did never seeme to the Generall so convenient as hee would purchase it with the losse of his souldiers. And that what appeared to him most safe, he ever did repute fullest of glory, taking

king care of his conscience still before his fame, nor ever were the determinations of the Captaine, governed by the opinion of the army, but the army by the providence of the Captaine.

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CHAP. II 6.

*A catalogue of divers eminent men, and of highest merit in these warres.*

**I**N the Dalmatian warre *Germanicus* being sent before into divers places and those full of difficultie, did give many and great proofes of his valour. *Quintus Iulius Posthumus* also of Consular quality, of high esteeme for his diligent endeavours, and Governour of Dalmatia, was thought worthy of triumphall ornaments : which honour

honour a few yeares before, *Publius* and *Cassius*, men accounted of for some severall vertues, had obtained in Africa. But *Cassius* transmitted the evidence of his victory with his fir-name to his sonne ; A young man borne for a patterne of all kinde of vertue: And *Lucius Apronius* being partner with *Posthumus* in all his actions, did in that service with excellent vertue merit those honours which within a while after he had obtained. I would that in matters of more consequence it did not appeare how great the power of fortune is in every thing ; but in this kinde also it may bee fully discerned what force she hath. For *Sejanus*, a man of disposition most like the ancient times, and one who alwaies did temper the gravity of former daies with

with humanity, in Germany, in Illyricum, and after a while in Africa, having had charge of principall account, wanted not merit but matter to procure him a triumph. And *Anlus Licinius*, *Nerva Silianus*, the son of *Publius Silius*, whom hee that did not indeed understand him, did abundantly admire, (lest hee that was the best of Citizens, and the most ingenious Capitaine should suffer no losse, being untimely snatcht from him) was bereft of the fruit of the Princes dearest friendship, and of having his honour perfected, and raised to the highest type of the glory of his ancestors. If any man shall say that I have sought an occasion of making mention of these men, hee shall charge one that doth willingly confesse it; for a just cleer-  
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ness without falsehood among good men will never bee called a crime.

## CHAP. II 7.

*Newes of Varus Quintilius his defeature with three legions, three wings, and six Cohorts brought immediately after the end of the Dalmatian warre: his character.*

**C**æsar had but now put an end to the Pannonian and Dalmatian warre, when within five daies after the perfecting so great a worke, there came fall letters out of Germany of *Varus* his being slaine, three legions, as many wings and six Cohorts put to the sword, onely in this fortune favouring us, that the Generall was not at that  
instant

instant otherwise engaged. Both the businesse and the person en-joyne us heere to pause a while. *Varus Quintilius* descended rather of a famous than a noble family, was a man of a gentle disposition, in his carriage quiet, neither in minde nor body stirring, more inured to the idlenesse of standing camps, than to the toyle and labour of the warre. And that he was no despiser of money, Syria shewed, which hee when he was poore entring when it was rich, hee left poore, himselfe returning wealthy. Hee commanding the army in Germany, conceived them to be such as had nothing of men, but language, and the parts of the body, and that they which could not bee tamed with the sword, might by the Law be reduced to quietnesse : with which

which inattention passing into the heart of Germany, as it hee had beene among men that delighted in the sweetes of peace, hee spent the summer in hearing suites, and sitting in his Tribunal.

## CHAP. 118.

*The manner of the plot, and meanes of his overthrow by Arminius : the character of him. His intents discovered to Varus by Se-gestes, but not beleevd.*

**B**ut they (which till he had found by prooffe hee hardly beleevd) in their height of barbarisme, most subtle, and a race of men borne for lying, counterfeiting pretended suites one after another, and one while provoking one another with injuries another

another giving him thanks for that hee had ended them according to the Roman justice, and that their wildnesse did by the discipline before unknowne to them, grow more civill, and those questions which were wont to bee disputed by armes, were now decided by sentence, did bring *Quintilius* into the deepest stupiditie of negligence; So farre as that hee beleaved that hee sate as the City Prætor in the market place, judging of causes, and not that hee commanded an army in the midst of Germany. A young man then, noble by birth, valiant of his person, quicke of apprehension, beyond the rate of a Barbarian of a nimble wit, by name *Arminius*, sonne to *Sigmarus*, Prince of that Nation, whose aspect and eyes did de-  
note

note the fervency of his spirit, being a continuall follower of our colours in the former warres, and having obtained the freedome of the City of Rome, and to be made of the order of Knights, made use of the dulnesse of the Commander to his mischievous end: not absurdly concluding, that no man can be more easily overthrowne than he that feares not at all, and that security is most commonly the fore-runner of calamity. At the first therefore hee drew a few, afterwards more into the fellowship of his designe. That the Romans might bee ruined, he both affirms and perswades them to beleieve: with their determination hee couples action, and sets downe a time for the treachery. This was discovered to *Varrus* by a faithfull man of  
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that Nation, and one of high esteeme, called *Segestes*. But the destinies were more potent than any counsaile, and had wholly dulled the edge of his understanding; for so it is, that for the most part he that is preordained to fall into a worse fortune, doth spoile all good advice, and, which is the most miserable thing that can bee, causes that to bee thought worthily inflicted upon him whatever it bee that befalls him, and chance becomes accounted to him for his fault. Hee therefore refuses to give credit to that relation. And professeth that he rates the hope of the good will borne him by his deserving of them. Neither did the Conspirators after the first discoverer, leave any roome for a second.

C H A P.

## C H A P. II 9.

*The execution with the losse of the whole armie: Varus kills himselfe. Eggius bravely dies, Cc-tonius basely having yeelded. Volumnius shamefully ranne away with the horse, yet so escaped not.*

**T**He manner of this bitterest calamitie, then which besides the losse of *Crassus* in Parthia, the Romans never felt out of their owne country any more grievous, as others in their compleat workes have done, so wee shall also endeavour to expresse: now wee must onely summarily lament it, an armie of the bravest, and for discipline, valour and experience, the prime one among the Romans, by the lazinessse of the Commander, the

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perfidiousnesse of the enemy, and the inequality of fortune being circumvented, when neither occasion was afforded to those wretched men of fighting bravely as they would have done, and some being sharply punished for that they used both Roman courages and armes, hemmed in on every side with woods, with bogges, and with ambuscadoes, was totally cut in pieces by that enemy, whom they had alwaies to killed like sheepe, as one while their anger, another their pittie did prescribe. Their Capitaine had more courage to die then to fight. For following the example of his father, and grandfather, he runne himselfe through with his sword. Of the two Campe-masters, as noble a president as *Lucius Eggius* did set to other, *Catonius* did yceid as  
base

base a one: who when the execution had slaughtered the farre greatest part of the armie, being the propounder of yeelding had rather chose to die by the hands of the hangman, then in the fight. But *Volumnius* Lieutenant to *Varrus*, in other things a quiet and good man, was the author of the vilest example; for leaving the foote without the assistance of the horse, hee with the wings fled towards the Rhine. Of which fact of his, fortune tooke revenge, for he did not over-live those whom hee had forsaken, but dyed a betrayer of his countrie. The rage of the enemy had torne the halfe burnt body of *Varrus*, and his head being cut off and carryed to *Maroboduus* from whom it was sent to *Cassius*, was at length honorably baried in the sepulchre of his auncetors.

## CHAP. 120.

*Tiberius takes the warre in hand, and with happie successe and no losse having plagued the enemies, returnes to his winter stations. Lucius Asprena his brave acts with two legions, and of Lucius Ceditius who sallied out of Alsace, and by force saved himselfe and his men through a multitude of enemies.*

**T**Hese newes being reported *Cesar* flies backe to his father, and as the perpetuall defender of the Romane Empire assumes the businesse. Hee is sent into Germany, settles Gallia, disposeth of the armies, fortifies the gards of the standing camps. And valuing himselfe by his owne greatnesse, and not by the rule of the enemies confidence

dence (which did threaten Italy with a warre of the Cimbres and Teutones,) with his army hee passed over the Rhine. *Arminius* being frighted (upon whom his father and his country was content to lay the blame,) he yet pierces farther into the countrie, makes his way thorow the frontiers, wastes their possessions, fires their houses, routes those which he encountred: and with infinite glory, and all those in safetie which hee carried over with him, returnes to his winter stations. Let us heere give a true testimoniall of *Lucius Asprenas* his worth; who with the active and manly worke of two legions which hee commanded, serving as Lievtenant under his Uncle *Varrus*, did preserve his forces free from so great a calamity. And by comming downe

in seasonable time to the lower wintering Campes did settle the then wavering mindes of the Natiōs on this side of the Rhine. Yet notwithstanding there are some that doe beleeeve, that as those which were living were by him secured, so the patrimonies of those which were slaine under *Varus*, were by him possessed, and the estates of the ruined army (as farre as he had a minde to) seized upon. The valour also of the Campe-master *Lucius Ceditius*, and those which being shut up with him in Alifone were by the innumerable forces of Germany besieged, is to be commended, who overcoming all difficulties, which by the want of necessities being intolerable, the power of the enemy made unresistable, neither rashly resolving it, nor

nor faintly putting it in execution, watching a fit opportunity, did with their swords make themselves a way, to returne to their own party. By which it appears that *Varus*, a man indeed grave and meaning well, did rather ruine his army for want of the judgement that should bee in a Generall, than for lacke of courage, and bravery in his souldiers: when by the Germans there was all manner of crueltie used to the prisoners, *Caldus Calius*, most worthy of his ancient family, performed a very brave act; who did so straine the foldes of the chaines, with which he was bound, about his head, as with the effusion of his blood and braines together, hee breathed his last.

## CHAP. 121.

*Tiberius prospering in the next yeares warre equalled in command with Augustus, and triumphs over Pannonia and Dalmatia.*

**T**He same both vertue and fortune in the subsequent times did possesse the soule of the Generall *Tiberius*, which at the beginning it was endowed with, all who having shaken the enemies forces, by invasions of Sea and land forces; when he had quieted the affaires of Gallia, which were of greatest moment, and the enraged dissensions of the common people of Vienna, more by reprehensions than punishments, and the Senate and people of Rome, his father requiring that hee might have

have ouer all the provinces and armies an equall authority with himselfe, had in the same decree comprehended him: for it had beene absurd that they should not have beene under his command, who were by him rescued, or that he that was the first in aiding them, should not be judged equally capable of the honour resulting from it: being returned to the City, did then enter in triumph (due indeed to him long before, but by the continuance of the warres till then delayed) over the Pannonians and Dalmatians. The magnificence wherof who will admire in *Cæsar*, but the favour of fortune, who can but admire? For report had delivered, that all the principall Captaines of the enemy were slaine, but his triumph presented them to the people

people bound in chaines. At which time it was my hap and my brothers to accompany him among the principall men and those which were honoured with rewardes of speciall esteeme. Or who among the other things in which the singular moderation of *Tiberius Caesar* doth cleerely shine, will not wonder at this, that having without all question deserved seven triumphs, he was yet contented with three.

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CHAP. 122.

*Tiberius that had deserved seven triumphs, contented with three.*

**F**OR who can doubt but that for reducing of Armenia, and placing a King over it, upon whose head with his owne hand,

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he put the Diademe, and for settling the affaires of the East, hee ought to have entred the City in a triumph Ouant. And having conquered the Rhetians, and the Vindelicians, to have entred in a Chariot. After his adoption then, with a continuall warre of three yeares standing, the forces of Germany being shattered, the same honour was both to have bin presented to him, & by him accepted. And after the losse received under *Varus*, the same Germany being quickly with a most prosperous successe of affaires laid flat upon the earth, ought to have adorned the triumph of this greatest Captaine. But in this man thou canst not well tell whether to wonder more at his observing no meane in undergoing labours and hazards, or that hee was so moderate in taking honours.

honours upon him.

CHAP. 123.

*The death of Augustus at Nola in his 76. yeare.*

**W**E are now come to the time in which there was most cause of feare. For *Cæsar Augustus*, when he had sent his Nephew *Germanicus* into Germany to make an end of the remnants of the warre, and was about to send his sonne *Tiberius* into Illyricum, to settle with peace what he had subdued by armes, intending to follow him, and with all to bee present at a shew of wrestlers, which in his honour was by the Neapolitans dedicated to him, went into Campania. Although he had before felt some grudging of weak-

weakenesse, and the beginnings of a declination to the worke in his heald, yet the strength of his minde labouring against it, he followed his sonne, and parting from him at Beneventum, himselfe went to Nola, where his malady growing daylie upon him, when he knew (whom he must send for, if he desired that all should stand safe after him) hee with all haste recalled his sonne to him. He with more celeritie than was expected, flew backe to the father of his country. *Augustus* then proclaiming himselfe secure, and wrapped in the embracements of his *Tiberius*, commending to his care, his, & his owne works, nor now at all repining at his end, the fates did so appoint, being a little refreshed with the first sight and conference of him  
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that was most deare to him, within a while his spirit being resolved into the first originalls thereof, when *Pompeius* and *Apuleius* were Consuls in his twentieth and sixth yeare of his life, rendred his celestiall soule backe againe to heaven.

## CHAP. 124.

*The feares of the people, upon his death wholly causelesse, Tiberius refuses, and at length assumes the State.*

**W**Hat men then did redoubt, what trembling there was in the Senate what confusion among the people, what the whole world feared in how narrow confines either of preservation or destruction wee were

were placed, I that make so much haste have no leisure: and he that hath leisure cannot expresse. This alone I have to deliver from the common mouth of the people; That the City whose ruine wee feared, wee did not so much as find to be moved: and so great was the Majestic of one man, as neither for good men nor against bad, there was any need of armes; one onely struggling (as it were) there was in the Citie, the Senate and people of Rome contending with *Cesar*, that he should succeed in his fathers place, & he that he might rather live a private Citizen equall with the rest, then a prince in so eminent place. At length he was overcome more with reason then with the honour presented to him: when he saw, that what he tooke not upon him, would infallibly

infallibly perish. To him onely hath it befallen to refuse the Principality well neere a longer time then others have borne armes to get it. After the returning of his father to the Gods, and the funerals of his body, solemnized with all humane honors, his name consecrated with divine ones, the first of his workes as Prince, was to order the election of officers, as sacred *Augustus* had left written with his owne hand. At which time my brother and my selfe being put in the list of those that stood Candidates for the Prætorship next after the noblest men, and such as had been high priests we gained this in it, that neither sacred *Augustus* commended any after, nor *Tiberius Caesar* any before us.

CHAP.

## CHAP. 125.

*A mutiny in Germany and Illiricum of the Legions there (the first governed by Germanicus) quieted by the direction of Tiberius.*

THE Republique did immediately receive the reward of both their advice and desire. Neither was it long concealed what he had suffered if wee had not prevailed, or what wee gained by obtaining of our wishes. For the army that served in Germany, and which was governed by *Germanicus* in person, as also the Legions which were in Illiricum with a certain rage and a vast greedinesse of cōfounding all things, sought a new Generall, a new state and in summe, would have also a new Commonwealth

wealth. They were bold also to threaten that they would give the law to the Prince. They were about to determine what their entertainment should be, what the terme of their service. From this they proceed to armes, their swords are in their hands, and almost did they rise to the heighth of lawlesse using them, onely there wanted one to lead against the Comon-wealth, not who should follow. But all these the readinesse of their old Commander, forbidding many things with gravity, promising some others, and amidst the severe punishing of the authors, a gentle chastizing of the rest, in a short time laid on sleepe and quite removed. At which time truly as *Germanicus* did things for the most part faintly, so *Drusus* being sent by his father against this

this fury of the Souldiers which was all of a light flame, using the former and auncient severity, with a course hazardous to himselfe in the act, and of pernicious president, with the same sword of the souldiours by which he was besieged, he punished those that beleaguered him, wherein he used principally the assistance of *Junius Blasus*; A man who thou couldst not say whether he were of more use in the Campe, then disarmed in the City, who within a few yeares being Proconsul in Africa deserved and obtained triumphall ornaments, and the surname of Imperator (that is, soveraigne Commander) & when he governed Spaine & the army with his virtues, and in Illyricum with very brave discipline, as we said before, he kept them

them quietly in a most settled peace. Being abundantly furnished with the fairest goodnesse to intend that which was just, and with authority to performe what he intended. Whose care and fidelity, *Dolabella* also a man of a most generous singlenesse of heart did in all things imitate.

CHAP. 126.

*A description of Tiberius his government for 16. yeares.*

**T**He businesse of these sixteene yeares seeing they are fixed in the sight and mindes of all men, who would go about by parcells in wordes to deliver? *Caesar* had now consecrated his father, not by his command, but by religious devotion, and had not called him a god, but made him

him one. Fidelity was recalled into the pleading place, sedition turned out of the Market place, ambition from *Mars* his field, discord from the Senate, iustice, equity, & industrie, which were buried, and their place of residence not to be found, restored to the Citie. To the Magistrates was added authoritie; to the Senate, Majestie; to the seates of iustice, gravity; into all men was either infused a will to doe well, or a necessitie of doing so, imposed upon them; vertuous actions were honored, bad ones punished; The meane man doth respect the great man, not feare him: the great one precedes the meane, but contemnes him not. When was there ever a greater rarity of death? when ever a peace more delightfull. Sacred peace being spread from the East through

through all the Clymates of the West, and what ever place is bounded by the South, and the North, over all the corners of the whole world, doth in every place free them from the feare of robberies. The casuall losses not of private men alone, but of Cities also, was by the munificence of the Prince, repaired; Cities of Asia reedified; the provinces freed from the injuries of officers; For good men honor was very ready, for delinquents punishment was slow indeed, but yet some there was: favour is mastered by equity, ambition by vertue, for the excellent Prince, by doing wel himself, doth teach his Subjects, and being greatest in power, yet by his example greater.

C H A P.

## C H A P. 127.

*Tiberius his taking into his inward favour Ælius Sejanus following the president of Scipio and Augustus, Sejanus his character.*

**I**T is seldome that men of highest Condition doe not use great assistances for the governing of their fortune, as the two *Scipio's*, the two *Lælij* whom in every regard they made equal to themselves, as sacred *Augustus* did; *Marcus Agrippa*, and next after him *Statilius Taurus*: the meanenesse of their births being no impediment to their rising to diverse Consullships and triumphes, & to very many Priesthoods, For it is true that great affaires doe need great helpers, where in petty things scarcitie  
T doth

doth not much empaire them. And it conduceth to the publique good that what is necessarie for use, should also be eminent in honor, and that the benefit of the State be backed with authority. According to which examples *Tiberius Caesar* tooke, and still retaines as his especiall helper in all his principall charges *Aelius Sejanus*, whose father was a prime man of the order of Knights, but by his mother descended from families of the noblest qualitie, auntient and remarkable for many honors, as who had brothers, Cosins, and an Vncle of Consular ranke : But himselfe a man most capable of fidelity and laboriousnesse, the fabrike of his body well fitted to the vigor of his minde. A man of a most pleasing severity, and the  
auntient

auntient cheerefulnesse, in his fashion most like to those that do little : Challenging nothing to himselfe, and by that meanes obtaining all things, ever vallowing himselfe beneath the rate put upon him by others, in his aspect and carriage quiet, and of a vigilant spirit. In the prizing the vertues of him the opinions of the City doe this good while contented with the judgement of the Prince.

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T 2      C H A P.

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## CHAP. 128.

*The favour of Tiberius to Sejanus confirmed by the iudgement of the people, with instances of the like formerly.*

**N**either is this a new fashion of the Senate and people of Rome, to account that the noblest which is best : for even those of former ages, before the first Punique warre, now three hundred yeares since, did raise *Titus Cornucanius*, a man of the first head, to the highest pitch, as well by all other honors as by that also of the high Bishop, and *Spurius Catullus* by discent of the order of Knights, and presently *Marcus Cato*, and that new inmate of Tusculum, & *Mummius* the Achaian, they also promoted to Consulls places, Censorships

ships and triumphes. They then that advanced *Caius Marius*, whose originall is not knowne but by sixe Consulships, so that he was without question the chiefe of the Romane name, they that did attribute to *Marcus Fulvius* so much as almost with but giving way to it hee could make whom he would the cheife man in the Citie: they that denyed nothing to *Asinius Pollio*, which the noblest Romanes must purchase with much sweate, did certainly thinke that greatest honor was to be bestowed upon him in whose mind was lodged the greatest vertue. The imitation of these our owne Countrie examples did move *Cesar* to make experience of *Sejanus* : *Sejanus* to ease the Prince of part of his burden, and brought the Senate

and people of Rome to this, that what they judged to be best, the same they would require for their safety.

CHAP. 129.

*A summarie of the cariage of Tiberius in many affaires toward Rhascupolis, Libo, Maroboduus, to Germanicus, the people, and in diverse occasions.*

**B**Vt having set forth, as it were in grosse, the forme of *Tiberius* his government, let us now reckon up the particulars. With what prudence did he call to him *Rhascupolis* the killer of *Cotys* his brothers sonne? using in that affaire especially the industry of *Flaccus Pomponius* of Consular qualitie, a man borne for all things that were to bee justly

justly done, and rather with purest vertue deserving glory, then hunting after it? With what a gravity, as a Senator and judge, not as a Prince and President, did he heare, and expedite causes? with what celerity did he ruine *Libo*, that ungrateful man, and one that did labour for innovations? with what principles did he instruct his *Germanicus*, and having seasoned him with the rudiments of his souldiourship, received him backe the subduer of Germany; With what honors did he glorifie his youth? the adornements of his triumph being correspondent to the greatnesse of the acts which he had performed? How often did he shew respect to the people in a Congiary or Dole, and when by the Senates appointmēt he might doe it, how willingly did hee

perfect the tax of the Senate, so as he neither willingly did give any provocations to ryot, nor did suffer an honest poverty to be deprived of honors. With how great honour did he send his *Germanicus* into the provinces beyond the Seas: with what power of his directions, employing as his Minister and assistant his sonne *Drusus*, did he compell *Marobodunus* that hung upon the frontiers of his Kingdome, (let me speake with pardon of his royall estate) like a serpent thrust out of the earth, with the wholesome medicaments of his advices to get him home againe? How doth hee hold him in, honorably but yet not securely? Of what importance was that warre which being commenced by *Sacrovir* and *Iulius Florus*, he with a strange celeritie

celeritie and speed did suppress so that the people of Rome did know that they had conquered before they knew they were entred into a warre, and the Messenger that brought word of the victory, came before him that told of the danger. The war also of Africa that was full of terror, and still greater by the dayly additions to it, by his direction and advice was in a short time buried.

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CHAP.

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## CHAP. 130.

*A reckoning up of his workes and edifices : a complaint against those that conspired his ruine ; as also for the death of his sonnes and nephew, for the frowardnes of his daughter in law, and the losse of his mother.*

**W**Hat workes hath he founded in his owne name, & in that of his family and kindred? with how religious a magnificence, and beyond the faith of any mortall man, doth hee now build a Temple for his father? with how magnificent an equall temper of minde hath hee repaired the worke of *Pompey* which was consumed by fire? As he that, whatsoever is eminent in glory, doth as if it were of his blood thinke himselfe bound

bound to maintaine? with what bounty, both at other times, and now last of all, Mount *Caëlius* being set on fire, did hee out of his owne estate repaire the damages of all sorts of men by that accident? with how great quiet of men, doth hee, without the feare of a presse, a thing of perpetuall and principall terrour, provide for the supplies of his armies? If either the nature of men may beare it, or their meannesse stretch so farre as to complaine to the Gods of themselves: what hath this man deserved, first that *Drusus Libo* should enter into treacherous purposes; then *Silius* and *Piso*, of the one of whom hee serled the honours, and those of the other he encreased? That I may passe to greater things, although hee reckoned even these for the greatest

greatest, what he had demerited to make him lose his sonnes in their youth? what that his nephew by his sonne *Drusus*? we yet have spoken onely of things to cause sorrow, wee now must come to such as will procure blushing: with how many anguishes have these three last yeares (good *Marcus Vinicius*) rent his soule in peeces? how long hath his brest burnt (and which is a most miserable thing) with a concealed fire: that by his daughter in law, by his nephew, he is compelled to grieve, to be angry and to bee ashamed. The sadnesse of which time was augmented by the losse of his Mother, a woman superlatively eminent, and in every thing liker the gods than men, whose power no man ever felt, but either by the ease of his danger,

or the augmentation of his honour.

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CHAP. 131.

*The conclusion, with a prayer for the preservation of the Prince and State.*

I Now must close up this worke with a prayer. Thou *Jupiter Capitolinus*, the Author and parent of the name of Roman; thou father *Mars*, thou *Vesta* the preserver of the perpetuall fires, and what ever other Deitie it bee that hath raised this masse of the Romane Empire to this highest point of the worlds greatnesse: You all, I doe with the voice of all the people entreate, pray, and beseech, that you will keepe, conserve, and defend this State, this peace, this

this Prince, and when hee hath  
the longest age beene resident  
among mortall men, appoint him  
successours, though, with the  
latest, yet such as their neckes  
may be able to beare the weight  
of the worlds Empire, as brave-  
ly as we have found his to be;  
and let all the intentions  
of the people, be  
either pious

\* \* \*

**FINIS.**

**LONDON,**  
Printed by *Miles Flesher*,  
for ROBERT SVVAYNE, in  
Britaines-Burse at the signe  
of the Bible: 1632.

### *Erratâ.*

*P* Age 51. line 18. for strengthened, read  
streghned. *P.* 74. l. 12. for clifty, r. clift  
iv. *P.* 86. l. 22. for qualte, r. qualitie. *P.* 115.  
l. 16. for affronted, r. ciffronted. *P.* 127. l. 12.  
for Generall, r. Generalls. *P.* 159. l. 24. for  
Pirates, r. parts. *P.* 179. l. 10. for one *Paulus*  
r. onely *Taulus*. *P.* 198. l. 1. for *Caius Craso*  
sus, r. *Caius Cassius*. *P.* 202. l. 7. for cast off,  
r. cast. *P.* 203. l. 19. for reviving, r. ruining.  
*P.* 205. l. 8. for carting, r. caring. *P.* 264.  
l. 9. for tried r. tyred. *P.* 274. l. 4. for tired,  
r. taried. *P.* 296. l. 4. for successfull, r. suc-  
cessfully. *P.* 300. l. 18, for precise, r. pre-  
cisely. *P.* 311. l. 17. for these, r. lesse. *P.*  
320. l. 10. for his, r. this. *P.* 321. l. 10. for  
take, r. than. *P.* 331. l. 3. for enable, r. eno-  
bled. *P.* 364. l. 18. for his inhabitants, r.  
his habitation.

Faults of false pointing, or want of  
parentheses in due place, the under-  
standing Reader will amend in read-  
ing.